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A

LIFE OF POPE PIUS IX.

BY

JOHN R. G. HASSARD.

"For a blameless man made haste to pray for the people, bringing forth the shield of his ministry, prayer. . . . For in the priestly robe which he wore was the whole world, . . . and thy majesty was written upon the diadem of his head."—WISDOM xviii. 21, 24.

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The following Life of Pius IX., by Mr. John R. G. Hassard, is cordially approved and commended to the favorable notice of the public.

THOMAS S. PRESTON,
Vicar-General and Chancellor.

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PREFACE.

BEING more anxious to show the spirit of the late pontificate than to write a full catalogue of its achievements, I have passed lightly over all but the greater incidents in this history of a quarter of a century of battles. Perhaps a rapid story may be acceptable to many Catholic readers who find fuller biographies too long and too costly.

There are ample materials in French for a life of Pius IX. The work of J. M. Villefranche in particular (*Pie IX. Sa vie, son Histoire, son Siècle.* 3d edition. Lyons. 1877), to which I have often resorted, is so good that I hope somebody will translate it. M. Alex. de Saint-Albin's *Histoire de*

Pie IX. (2d edition. Paris. 1870) is valuable for the period to which it refers. Mr. Legge cites many important documents relating to the revolutionary movements of 1848; and other authorities are quoted from time to time in the body of this book.

New York, April 6, 1878.

LIFE OF PIUS IX.

CHAPTER I.

HIS BIRTH AND EDUCATION.

NEVER since the days of Hildebrand has the Church seen so remarkable a pontificate as that which has just closed. The long reign of Pius IX., far exceeding in duration that of any of his predecessors, and surpassing even the traditional "years of Peter," which a popular prediction declared that no pope should ever see, was crowded with momentous political events, involving the most important changes in the condition of a large part of the civilized world, and in nearly all these changes the Sovereign Pontiff was the central figure. Ideas which were just beginning to ripen into action at the time of his birth became the ruling force of Europe before the close of his career. The ancient society of Christian nations was broken up. Christendom as a political entity ceased to exist. A new order of civilization, founded on new principles, took its place. In all these vicissitudes the Roman See was the one institution which suffered no change. Time and time again has it seemed to be the pivot

around which moved the revolutions of a world. And the part of Pius IX. in this turmoil of transformation was no less strange than eventful. The early years of his pontificate showed that there was no reasonable liberty of which the Church might not be the protector, and for a few weeks the whole world sang hymns of praise to the Pope who had proved the compatibility of the authority of Rome with political freedom, and her sympathy with all noble and patriotic aspirations. Yet the World and the Church were soon in conflict, though the Pope never changed. Empires and republics rose and fell. Princes turned democrats. Democrats assumed the crown. Kingdoms were blotted off the map. Nations sprang into life. The Church was stripped of all her temporal possessions. Governments which had been her stanchest supporters suddenly become her foes. And in the midst of this hurry of revolutions—political, social, and religious—the Papacy alone retained its stability. The world beat against it, and beat in vain. When it was deemed friendless it was strongest. When it had no help except the unseen hand of Heaven, it was most formidable in the unity of its episcopate, the affection of its children scattered far and wide over the earth, the clearness of its teachings, and the quick and full assent which all Catholics yielded to the authoritative voice that spoke to them from the Vatican. "There is, perhaps, hardly any pontiff," says Cardinal Manning, "who has governed the Church with more frequent exercises

of supreme authority than Pius IX." "No pontiff from the beginning," adds the same distinguished authority in another place, "in all the previous succession of two hundred and fifty-six popes, has ever so united the bishops with himself." "It seems to me," remarked the Pope to the Sacred College of Cardinals in 1873, "that as my pontificate is prolonged your affection towards the Holy See, and your zeal in defence of its rights, are more and more inflamed and strengthened; and everywhere your good example is copied." Certainly no pontiff since the primitive ages of the Church has been regarded with a more enthusiastic personal love, or has exercised so marked and far-reaching a personal influence. "A considerable time must elapse," observes a recent writer, "before we can estimate aright this great pontificate, so remarkable, so exceptional in many ways. We stand, as it were, in its full glare; we cannot take into account all its proportions, its vastness, its harmony, its importance in the history of the Church. Those great commanders have been few who could comprehend all at once the full results of a successful battle; but to the soldiers who make up the army, while the din of the combat is yet sounding in their ears, and the battle is still being fought around them, it is not given to take in at a glance all the features of the engagement, still less to know with precision what will be its effects upon the general fortune of the war. Yet some things there are which it is not difficult to discern at once, and concerning which no

additional fulness of knowledge or maturity of reflection can well alter our judgment." It is with certain of these things—with the story of the private virtues of Pius IX., the outlines of his public life, and the most important works of his pontificate—that the present biography will be chiefly concerned.

The family of Mastai was an ancient and respectable one of Lombardy. The first Mastai who bore the title of count removed into the duchy of Urbino, in Central Italy, towards the end of the seventeenth century, and, settling at the small but at that time not unimportant town of Sinigaglia, on the Adriatic, near Ancona, married an heiress of the place, and added her name, Ferretti, to his own. Count Jerome Mastai-Ferretti, the father of the Pontiff, was gonfalonier, or mayor, of Sinigaglia. He was a gentleman of good character and small fortune. His wife, Catharine Solazzi, is said to have been distinguished both for beauty and virtue. She bore seven children, of whom the subject of this book, born at Sinigaglia, May 13, 1792, and baptized John Mary (Giovanni Maria), was the youngest. From his earliest years the boy was noted for a sweet and sunny temper, a loving disposition, and a tender piety. At the age of eleven he was sent to a college kept by the Fathers of the Pious Schools at Volterra, and there he was a general favorite and an apt scholar, especially in mathematics. He had reached his seventeenth year when a terrible affliction fell upon him. He

became the victim of epileptic attacks of the most distressing kind; he was obliged to interrupt his studies, and his whole future became clouded. In company with his mother he made a pilgrimage to Loretto to beg the intercession of the Blessed Virgin. Although Heaven permitted the disease to try him some years longer, its severity began to abate, and in 1808 he received the tonsure at Volterra as the first step in the ecclesiastical career to which he had resolved to devote himself. Some unfriendly historians, who have given a grossly false account of his early years, will have it that he chose the military profession, and only turned to the Church when his epileptic attacks forced him to abandon the army; others declare that, though he was not actually a soldier, he was a candidate for admission to the Pope's Noble Guard, and was rejected on account of the state of his health. These stories are disposed of by the direct testimony of Pius IX. himself. The editor of an *Enciclopedia dell' Ecclesiastico*, published at Rome, wishing to have an accurate sketch of the Pope's life, caused the proof-sheets to be submitted to the Holy Father, who corrected them with his own hand, and struck out the statement that in his youth he wished to join the army and to enter the Noble Guard. "'I never had any idea of the sort,' he said. When it was objected that this was generally believed to be true, and had found way in many biographical sketches, he replied: 'This is the cause of the unfounded notion. When the first Napoleon invaded the

pontifical provinces, he wished to gather round him a *guardia nobile* of all the noble youths of the Italian peninsula. A list was drawn up and published in the papers, and my name, *without my knowledge*, was put among the rest; but as soon as I was informed of it I took care to have my name struck out. Napoleon's plan could not be carried out.' " * Certainly, there would have been nothing discreditable to a young man in wishing to be a soldier, but, as a matter of fact, he had early determined to become a priest; and, accordingly, on leaving college he was sent to Rome (October, 1808) to live and study with his uncle, Paolino Mastai-Ferretti, who was a canon of the Vatican and a prelate of the papal court. †

The condition of the Christian world at this period was dark indeed. The Pope was in exile; the church was pillaged and persecuted. It was in the year of young Mastai-Ferretti's birth that the Red Republic was proclaimed in France, to be followed within a few months by the murder of Louis XVI.

* This conclusive denial is quoted by Mr. Alfred Owen Legge in his *Pius IX.: The Story of His Life to the Restoration in* 1850 (London, 1875); yet with a singular indifference to the value of historical testimony, Mr. Legge professes himself "compelled to regard" the contrary statement "as well authenticated," because it is affirmed by the Duke of Sermoneta and others!

† More than sixty years afterwards, addressing the chapter of the basilica of St. Mary Major, he said: "That church is doubly dear to me—first, because it is dedicated to the Mother of God; secondly, because it calls up certain souvenirs. When I first arrived in Rome, in my fresh youth, I went immediately to St. Mary Major, and I fancy I can see now, sitting in his confessional, the good Dominican who heard my first confession there."

and Marie Antoinette, the Reign of Terror, the prohibition of Christian worship, the banishment of the clergy, the massacre of the flower of the French nobility, and what seemed to be the beginning of a general revolt against God all over Europe. At the time of which we now write, Pius VI., dethroned by the French Directory, had died in prison. Pius VII., made captive by Napoleon, was a prisoner in France. For the second time within ten years the States of the Church were under a foreign domination. The rule of the emperor, whose object was to erect a church basely devoted to his interests, and to make a religion which he did not love the servant of his dynasty, was perhaps more brutal in Italy than in any other of the subjugated countries. Bishops were dispossessed, exiled, or imprisoned, as they are to-day in Germany under a similar system of imperial persecution. Priests were deported to Corsica or sent to the galleys at Toulon. John Mary's uncle, the canon, who was with Pius VII. on the night of the Pontiff's arrest by French soldiers, was forced to leave Rome. Another uncle, who was bishop of Pesaro, was imprisoned in Mantua. The young student returned to his parents to wait for better times.

A few years were thus spent at Sinigaglia, where Canon Mastai, the uncle, had likewise sought refuge. The fall of Napoleon restored the Pope to his throne. He passed through Sinigaglia on his way to Rome, and the whole Mastai family went out to meet him

and receive his blessing. The schools of theology in the sacred city were now reopened, and young Mastai resumed his attendance at the classes of the Accademia Ecclesiastica, though for some time, as his epileptic attacks were still severe, he wore the lay dress. The long triumph of impiety and atheism had left the society of Rome in a frightful state of demoralization, and one of the first tasks of the regular and secular clergy, now recalled from prison and exile, was to rescue the imperilled young. Sunday-schools were opened, volunteer catechists were enlisted from the nobility, and confraternities were organized with the special object of combating the infidelity and indifference of the rising generation. Into these labors John Mary Mastai threw himself with a beautiful zeal, and when in 1818 a mission was organized by Monsignor—afterwards Cardinal—Odescalchi and Monsignor Strambi, Bishop of Macerata, to prosecute the same good work in Sinigaglia, the ardent, generous, and devoted student was chosen to be their assistant. It was shortly after the close of this mission that, finding his malady much diminished, he obtained admission to the order of subdeacon (December 18, 1818).

In the following spring he received a dispensation to be ordained deacon and priest; but he was required, as a measure of precaution, to say Mass only in private and with the attendance of another priest. Before long he ventured to ask a special audience of Pope Pius VII., and to pray that this

restriction might be removed. "Yes," replied the kind old Pontiff, "I grant you this favor, and the more readily because I am persuaded that henceforth the cruel disease will trouble you no more." And, in fact, from that time the attacks, if they ever returned at all, were so slight and rare that they ceased to be of any consequence.

CHAPTER II.

HIS PRIESTHOOD.

IT was on Easter day, in 1819, that Father Mastai celebrated his first Mass, and the place which he chose for this memorable event was the obscure little church of St. Ann of the Carpenters (S. Anna dei Falegnami), attached as a chapel to an asylum for poor boys in the Via Giulia in Rome. He was no stranger in this modest chapel, for much of the time which he devoted to the instruction of the young before his ordination was spent in this retreat, and the children had a strong affection for him. The asylum was founded some forty years before this time by a poor, illiterate mason named Giovanni Borgi, who for a long while had been in the habit of collecting destitute children from the streets, giving them food and shelter in his own house, causing them to be instructed in religion, and finally sending them out as apprentices to respectable mechanics. When his good work became known pious people offered their help, an association was organized, and Pope Pius VII. bought for it the building in the Via Giulia. The boys always called their protector "Tata Giovanni" (Daddy John), and so the home

came to be known as the Asylum Tata Giovanni. The good old mason had gone to his reward, but his work lived after him; the number of the children was increased, and the scope of the charity was greatly extended.

The first pastoral charge of Father Mastai was over this asylum. He lived with the boys, ate at their table, and spent his whole private income in their service. At all periods of his life he had a remarkable power of attracting the love of those who came in contact with him, and it is not surprising that the poor little waifs formed the most devoted and almost romantic attachment to the warm-hearted and sympathetic young priest. He, on his part, never lost a tender regard for them, and interesting stories are told of the concern he used to show, even to the end of his life, in the welfare of those who had been his pupils during these first years of his priesthood. In 1871 he recognized at one of his audiences a certain jeweller of Rome.

"Ah!" said the Pontiff, "I remember that you were always ready to take apprentices from Tata Giovanni. Tell me if you still have any among your workmen whom I knew."

The jeweller hesitated; his memory was not so good as the Pope's.

"You ought to have so-and-so," continued his Holiness.

"Yes, Holy Father; I have him still."

"Are you pleased with him? Has he any family? Is he doing well?" And then Pius IX.

went on to tell of circumstances connected with this workman, to whom he had taught the catechism a half-century before. After the occupation of Rome by Victor Emanuel the revenues of the Asylum Tata Giovanni were cut off by the Italian Government, and the Pope made it an annual allowance from his own purse.

Father Mastai spent four years at this institution, holding also during part of the time a canonry of St. Mary *in via Lata*, a little church on the Corso, with an oratory in which pious tradition relates that St. Paul and St. Luke used to preach. The first employment which brought him into public notice was a mission to the New World.

In 1822 the Government of Chili sent Archdeacon Cienfuegos to Rome to try to establish direct ecclesiastical relations between the republic and the Holy See. The condition of the Church in the South American States was deplorable. Bishoprics were vacant, because the Spanish crown angrily insisted upon the right of presentation to sees which the success of the war of independence had long since removed from Spanish jurisdiction. The mother-country still asserted the authority which she no longer even attempted to enforce, and resented all proposals to recognize, however indirectly, the *de facto* separation of the revolted provinces. It was at length determined by Pope Pius VII. to disregard the protests of Spain, and to send to Chili a vicar-apostolic, in order to reorganize the Church in that country. The choice fell upon Monsignor

Muzi, then auditor of the nunciature at Vienna; Canon Mastai, on the recommendation of Cardinal della Genga—then cardinal-vicar, and destined soon to be Pope under the name of Leo XII.—was attached to the mission as adjunct; and a priest named Sallusti was appointed secretary. They sailed from Genoa, October 11, 1823, in a brig called the *Eloysa*, which flew the Sardinian flag, and the envoy Cienfuegos bore them company. It was a long, difficult, and dangerous journey in those days from Italy to the Pacific coast of South America. More than once the apostolic delegation narrowly escaped shipwreck. Stress of weather drove them into the Spanish port of Palma, in the island of Majorca, where the governor roughly ordered Archbishop Muzi and Canon Mastai to come on shore and give an account of themselves. On the absurd pretence that the country to which they were bound was in rebellion and must not be visited without permission of the Cortes, the embassy was locked up in jail. "Then," said Pius IX., in telling this adventure long years afterward, "I realized the necessity of the papal independence. They sent me a ration of food every day from the ship, but I was allowed neither letters nor papers. I was initiated, however, on this occasion into the little stratagems of solitary prisoners, for we hid our correspondence in loaves of bread; and so it was that I learned of the victory of the Duke of Angoulême which restored Ferdinand VII. to the throne of Spain. After that they did

not trouble themselves any more about a poor canon, and they let us go."

A voyage of three months brought them to Buenos Ayres, and there they began a toilsome ride of two months across the continent. They travelled in a caravan of three covered carts, stopping occasionally to celebrate Mass, or to rest, or to receive civilities at the towns and settlements along the route, just escaping massacre by a band of Indians who attempted to waylay them, crossing the Andes on mules, and entering Santiago at last to the tones of the *Te Deum*.

During this trying journey the cheerfulness, vivacity, and simple piety of Canon Mastai were the admiration and delight of his companions. Descending the slope of the Cordillera towards Santiago, they stopped one night at a miserable wayside inn, where they found an English officer named Miller lying unconscious in a raging fever. He was a stranger and a Protestant; but it was enough that he was suffering, and when the embassy went on its way the young canon remained behind to nurse the Englishman, tending him with the affection of a brother until he was well enough to continue his journey. On another occasion the canon found an Indian dying in a wretched hut. He placed himself by the side of the poor man, comforted his last hours, instructed and baptized him, and never left him until the soul had taken its flight. Then he wrapped the body in his own best linen, and buried it with a cross above the

grave; and finally, after instructing and baptizing the Indian's widow and children, he divided his purse and clothing with them.

In going by sea from Valparaiso to Callao the vessel of the embassy, caught near the coast in a gale, was driving upon the rocks when a fisherman put off in his boat, boarded them in the midst of the storm, and brought them through intricate passages into the harbor of Arica. The next day Canon Mastai visited the hut of this daring pilot, and left with him a purse containing about four hundred dollars. After becoming Pope he sent the man a second purse of equal value and his picture. The fisherman was overwhelmed with gratitude. The first four hundred dollars had proved the making of his fortune. He gave the second to the poor, and placed the picture of the Pope in a little chapel which he had built on a spot overlooking the sea.

The time spent in this mission was not fruitless, for the apostolic delegate succeeded in effecting some improvement in the condition of the disorganized South American Church, and Canon Mastai, in frequent excursions hither and thither, revived the faith and zeal of the people, and learned much about the wants of religion in that part of the world which he remembered when he came to the pontifical throne. One important result of his journey was the foundation of the South American College in Rome; it was not until twenty-five years later that this establishment was

opened, but the idea of it is distinctly traceable to the apostolic mission to Chili in 1824. The principal immediate object of the mission, however—the restoration of the episcopacy—was not accomplished. The Chilian Government raised so many difficulties that there was every reason to doubt its good faith; and at last, after many disappointments, the embassy returned to Rome. Their vessel had gone around Cape Horn to meet them, and they embarked at Valparaiso October 30, 1824.

Immediately after his arrival home Canon Mastai was appointed domestic prelate to His Holiness Leo XII., and placed in charge of the Hospital of St. Michael. This famous institution was a city in itself, and its administration was a real government. Founded two centuries ago, it had grown, by the liberality of successive popes, to be one of the greatest and grandest asylums in existence—a house of refuge for the young, a retreat for the aged and infirm, a hospital for the sick, a reformatory for Magdalens, a home for virtuous girls, and, besides all that, a school of arts and industries. When Monsignor Mastai assumed the presidency of this vast and complicated charity, every department of it was in a miserable state of disorganization. Nearly all the earnings of the boys and girls in the industrial schools went towards the support of the establishment, and yet there was an enormous deficit in the revenues. Bankruptcy seemed at hand. The new president took up his task with

the enthusiasm of a reformer and the practical sagacity of a man of business. In two years the disorder was at an end. The expenses of the institution were brought within its income, yet its charity was enlarged rather than restricted, and a large part of the earnings of the children was paid into a savings fund, to be returned to them when they went out into the world. Monsignor Mastai had obtained this remarkable result in part by his talent for business; but not wholly by that, for when the work was done his own patrimony had disappeared. "Of what use is money to a priest," said he, "except to be spent in the cause of charity?"

CHAPTER III.

THE GOOD BISHOP.

AFTER about two years of this active work at the hospital Monsignor Mastai was appointed Archbishop of Spoleto in Umbria. He was consecrated on the 3d of June, 1827, by Cardinal Castiglioni, afterwards Pius VIII. It is related that, having given away all the money at his command, he was obliged to sell the last acre of his estate to defray the expenses of his installation, and he entered his diocese actually penniless.

Promotion in this case meant a great increase of labor, hardship, and privation. The revenues of the see were small, and the needs of the people were great. Religion, society, and industry had all been grievously wounded by the disorders of the past thirty years, and just then, moreover, the spirit of revolution and infidelity had a strong hold upon the minds of the middle classes. The post of a bishop at such a time, in a poor and distracted city, seemed not one to be envied. But the gentleness and unbounded generosity of Archbishop Mastai quickly endeared him to the whole population. He filled his diocese with good works, founding schools and charities, promoting the

establishment of factories—for he knew that idleness and hunger were at the root of many of the evils of the day—and taking a personal interest in the comfort and prosperity of his people. From his youth to the very end of his life he was prodigal in alms-giving, and was often left destitute by his benefactions. A poor woman applied to him for help at Spoleto when his purse was empty; he could find nothing else of value, so he took a silver dish from his table and bade her put it in the pawn. On another occasion, after he had been translated from Spoleto to Imola, he was applied to by a man who was hard pressed by a creditor.

"How much do you need?" asked the archbishop.

"Monsignor, the debt is forty crowns."

"I have not a copper, my poor friend," said the good pastor, "but take these silver candlesticks and sell them."

The silversmith to whom they were offered recognized on them the archbishop's arms, and hastened to the palace.

"Monsignor," he cried, "you have been robbed of your candlesticks, and I have the thief."

"No, no," was the reply; "I have not been robbed. Buy them, if they suit you."

The dealer returned to his customer, and, learning the whole story, gave him what he required. Then he carried the candlesticks back to the archbishop.

"Monsignor," he said, "I have advanced the

forty crowns, and you can give them to me at some convenient time; but I will not take your silver plate."

The archbishop gave away even the clothes that he really needed. Sometimes he lacked the money to buy food; and once, having invited a bishop to visit him, he pawned his watch to pay for the dinner.

Pope Leo XII. died in February, 1829. Pius VIII. died on the 1st of December, 1830. The next conclave was a long one, and it was not until the 2d of February, 1831, that the deliberations of the Sacred College came to an end with the election of Gregory XVI. Within three days the new Pope was confronted by an extensive insurrection. The revolt had been long in preparation, and the revolution in France which drove Charles X. from his throne precipitated the outbreak. All central Italy was violently disturbed, but, although the insurgents were well enough organized to provoke a rising on the same day in several cities of the Romagna, they seem to have had no settled plan, and to have been animated by no more definite purpose than a general hostility to religion and hatred of the existing government. "Some," says the Liberal Italian writer, Farini, "wished to place the sons of Hortense Beauharnais at the head of the Italian movement; others, some Italian prince; and others had plans differing from both of these. In the Roman States the conspirators were for the most part Voltairians, or indifferentists in religion,

materialists in philosophy, and nearly all of them constitutionalists in politics—some after the French, some after the Spanish, model. Few had any well-defined notions of a philosophical or national system. The greater number cared only for destroying. Of building up they thought it would be time to take heed afterwards."

The revolt soon spread from the Romagna to the neighboring provinces, and before the middle of February it involved Spoleto. The pontifical governor fled for his life. Even the charitable archbishop was in danger. "I made my escape to the woods," said he many years afterwards, "and had gone some ten miles or so when, overcome by fatigue, I entered a little hut. There I found two poor women at work, and I shall never forget the sorrow with which they beheld their archbishop in such a plight, or the kindness with which they shared with me their scanty meal of bread and water." His exile, however, was short. For a little while after his return he was charged with the civil administration of the province.

The complicity in this revolt of the two sons of Hortense Beauharnais, step-daughter of Napoleon Bonaparte and wife of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland, has been alluded to. These sons were Napoleon, who died shortly afterwards of disease contracted in the insurrectionary campaign, and Louis, who became emperor under the name of Napoleon III. It is related that on the defeat of the enterprise Louis, being in imminent danger of

arrest, presented himself one night at the door of Archbishop Mastai, and owed his safety to that kindest of men, who concealed him for some time in his palace, and finally smuggled him across the frontier. The story rests upon no very secure foundation, but it has been often published and remains uncontradicted. There is another anecdote, relating to the same period, which seems to be much better authenticated. A force of four or five thousand insurgents approached Spoleto, close pressed by the pontifical troops on the one side and menaced by the advance of an Austrian army on the other. The archbishop went out to meet them, and, showing the futility of resistance, persuaded them to lay down their arms. To satisfy their immediate wants he gave them several thousand crowns. Next he visited the Austrian commander, and induced him to respect the informal amnesty which had thus been concluded; and finally he repaired to Rome to beg the Papal pardon for the rebels. On his return to Spoleto the grateful inhabitants took the horses from his carriage and drew him home in triumph.

One day an agent of the police brought him a list of persons in Spoleto whom he had discovered to be implicated in the insurrection. The archbishop took the paper and threw it into the fire. "My good friend," said he, "you do not know your business, or mine. When the wolf means to fall upon the flock he does not warn the shepherd."

In December, 1832, Archbishop Mastai was translated to the see of Imola. This was a simple bishopric, but it was a more important post than Spoleto, and was regarded as a step towards the dignity of cardinal. The promotion to the princely purple came in due course; it was proclaimed December 14, 1840, having been reserved *in petto* since December 23, 1839, and Cardinal Mastai took his title from the church of SS. Peter and Marcellinus. His life at Imola was like his life at Spoleto. He was rarely seen at Rome, even after his creation as cardinal. He was almost unknown to the courtiers of the Quirinal. His time, his strength, and his income were all spent in relieving the needs of his people. If there is one religious work for which, more than another, his administration of the diocese of Imola deserves to be remembered, it is the education of the clergy. In the general wreck which followed the French invasion under Napoleon the old theological schools had been swept away. The zealous bishop founded a seminary, opened and endowed a house of retreat for the priests, and established a Bible Academy at his residence for the discussion of sacred subjects. He introduced the Sisters of Charity from France. He invited also from France a community of Sisters of the Good Shepherd, endowing a house for them from his private means, and when they arrived he received them at the episcopal palace and waited on them at table. He opened an asylum for poor boys on the plan

of Tata Giovanni. He repaired the churches. He multiplied the schools. The revenues of the see of Imola were much larger than those of Spoleto; but, as usual, the bishop was always giving and always poor.

The political and social condition of central Italy became more and more deplorable, yet Cardinal Mastai, devoted to his flock, was surrounded by a grateful population. Once, it is said, a party of revolutionists broke into his house with the wild purpose of carrying him off prisoner, together with two cardinals who were his visitors. On another occasion, while praying before the Blessed Sacrament, he confronted three assassins who had wounded a young man in the cathedral of Imola; he drove them from the church, and his courage saved the young man's life. The revolutionist Felice Orsini, executed in 1858 for an attempt to assassinate the Emperor of the French, was a lad living at Spoleto at this period, and he relates in his memoirs that, having accidentally killed a man, he owed his liberty to the bishop, who protected him from prosecution and became security for his good behavior. These are almost the only incidents of Archbishop Mastai's career at Imola which the historian finds recorded. The fourteen years of his useful and inconspicuous labor at that place were a golden time of peace and consolation, whose story is written only in heaven. They were a time, moreover, of providential preparation for the place to which he was soon to be raised.

He came forth from this retreat with a character enriched by the daily practice of virtue, a disposition sweetened by the habit of self-sacrifice, a resolution strengthened by reliance upon God, and a heavenly courage that was proof against the threats and buffets of the world. Modest, however, as his retirement had been, his holy life was not unknown at Rome, and when Gregory XVI. died on the 1st of June, 1846, Cardinal Mastai had already been much spoken of as the fittest person to rule the Church in the trying days that were plainly at hand.

He was at this time fifty-four years of age. His figure was of medium height and well proportioned, his frame rather sturdy, his bearing erect and dignified, his gestures were full of unstudied grace, and his walk was described as "princely." Yet there was a simplicity in his manner that charmed everybody, and the graciousness of Christian humility softened and adorned his demeanor. There is a story of a peasant who sought an audience of him, expecting to see a potentate of dazzling grandeur, and who came away astonished, exclaiming: "*E un' uomo come me!*—He is a man like me!" His features were noble and regular, his complexion was a rich olive, his eyes were large, soft, and blue. But the chief beauty of his face was the gentle and benevolent expression that shone in his glance and played about his shapely mouth. This was an attraction which age and trouble never destroyed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE SPIRIT OF THE REVOLUTION.

WHEN Cardinal Mastai drove out of the city of Imola in June, 1846, and, followed by the prophetic cries of the admiring populace, "Long live our Pope!" proceeded to Rome to attend the conclave, he left for ever the peaceful life which had become dear to him, and entered upon a long course of anxiety and pain. The aspect of almost the whole world was threatening. The anti-Christian conspiracy which had kept Europe in turmoil for nearly a hundred years was ripe for revolution, and the least acute observer could see that a great political crisis was near at hand. It might be said without much exaggeration that men stood for a moment with ear intent and bated breath waiting for the inevitable explosion.

It would be idle, in the compass of this little book, to explore the causes of the convulsions of 1830–1848. They were complex and deep-rooted. The revolutionary propaganda of this period found almost every country of Europe ready for combustion. Some states were rotten with social and moral disorders of long standing; some, like Poland, writhed under an oppression which moved the

sympathies of the whole world; some fretted under the restrictions of antiquated forms of government unsuited to the wants of an expanding society; some were cursed with bad rulers, some with an infidel population. The vitality of the principles of the great French Revolution had not been exhausted; on the contrary, they had been disseminated all over the continent, and everywhere they bore fruit. Recent writers have represented the pontificate of Pius IX. as a prolonged struggle between priestly despotism and the unconquerable popular yearning for national unity. But it is certain that the sentiment of unity was not the origin of the revolutionary movement in the Italian States, and will not be its end. The movement was active before national unity was thought of, and is still active after national unity has been attained.

The central influence which animated and directed the tendencies towards revolt in the various countries of Europe was the conspiracy of the secret societies. There was not a corner of the continent in which their power was not felt, and at the death of Gregory they had become one of the chief forces in European politics. Intimately allied with Freemasonry, their origin dates back to a remote, uncertain period. They were strong and dangerous before the world suspected their existence. The Illuminati, founded by Weishaupt among the Masonic lodges of Bavaria, and aiming at the most radical disintegration of society as well as the overthrow of Christianity, are regarded as the im-

mediate progenitors of the secret societies of our day. They were formidable a hundred years ago. From Bavaria Illuminism was introduced into Austria, Saxony, Holland, Italy, and Switzerland; it was carried to Paris by Mirabeau, who was initiated in Germany; and it was united with Masonry all over France. Carbonarism, the worst of its numerous offspring, was organized in the Neapolitan States about 1814 or earlier, and in five or six years it not only spread over the whole Italian peninsula but obtained a firm foothold in France and Spain. Other secret societies—the Adelphi, the Federati, the Decisi, the Guelphs, the Reformed Emancipated Patriots—were formed in various parts of Italy, all pursuing the same revolutionary and anti-Christian objects, and all more or less regularly affiliated both with the parent Carbonari and with the Masonic lodges. Yet while they co-operated in the work of destruction they were utterly at variance in their ideas of what ought to come after. The Italians were so far from regarding themselves as one people that a real union did not occur to them as desirable; and even when the Carbonari attempted in 1831 to drive the Austrians out of North Italy and form a federation under the Duke of Modena, they did not dream of including in it the whole peninsula or of creating an Italian nation. They were almost as busy fomenting revolutions in France and Spain as in regenerating their own country. France, indeed, they never left at peace. Secret societies were busy simultaneously

in Russia, in Greece, in Ireland, and even in the Swiss republic. In 1821 the Italian revolutionist, General Pepe, founded at Madrid "an international secret society of the advanced political reformers of all the European states," and from Spain he carried the organization into Portugal and France. Mazzini made a much more effective union of the revolutionary elements in 1834 when, with the aid of Italian, Polish, and German refugees, he founded at Berne the society of Young Europe. The organization of Young Germany, Young Poland, and Young Switzerland dates from the same time and place, and Switzerland became the centre of all the agitations of the Continent.

Many of these and similar associations professed an excellent object. The Tugendbund, for instance, founded by the Prussian Prime Minister Stein in 1807, originally aimed at the deliverance of Germany from the foreign yoke imposed by Napoleon I.; Young Poland captivated the noble, the ardent, and the patriotic; the Carbonari had an alluring watchword in the Independence of Italy. But there was an ulterior purpose known only to the initiated, and perhaps not always contemplated even by them at the beginning of their enterprise. That purpose—the bond which united all the leaders of the conspiracy from the Irish Sea to the Grecian Archipelago, from Gibraltar to Nova Zembla—was the establishment everywhere of an atheistic democracy. Kings and priests were equally hateful to the "Illuminated." There was

to be no recognition of God in their republic. They were hostile not only to the Catholic Church as an organization but to Christianity as a moral influence. Illuminism sounded as early as 1777 the key-note of the whole movement. Findel, the Masonic historian of Freemasonry, declares that "the most decisive agent" in giving the order a political and anti-religious character was "that intellectual movement known under the name of English deism, which boldly rejected all revelation and all religious dogmas, and under the victorious banner of reason and criticism broke down all barriers in its path." But Weishaupt found still too much "political and religious prejudice" remaining in the Freemasons, and consequently devised a system which, as he expressed it, would "attract Christians of every communion and gradually free them from all religious prejudices." The "illumination" of the brethren was to be accomplished by a course of gradual education in which Christianity was carefully ignored. It was only in the higher degrees that the initiated were taught that the fall of man meant nothing but the subjection of the individual to civil society; that "illumination" consisted in getting rid of all governments; and that "the secret associations were gradually and silently to possess themselves of the government of the states, making use for this purpose of the means which the wicked use for attaining their base ends." We quote this from the discourse read at initiation into one of the higher degrees, and dis-

covered when the papers of the fraternity were seized by the Elector of Bavaria in 1785. The same document continues: "Princes and priests are in particular the wicked whose hands we must tie up by means of these associations, if we cannot wipe them out altogether." Patriotism was defined as a narrow-minded prejudice; and, finally, the illuminated man was taught that everything is material, that religion has no foundation, that all nations must be brought back, either by peaceable means or by force, to their pristine condition of unrestricted liberty, for "all subordination must vanish from the face of the earth." The ceremonies of initiation into the lodges of the Carbonari remind us strongly of this explanation of the principles of Illuminism. The recruit was taught the same doctrine in both: that man had everywhere fallen into the hands of oppressors, whose authority it was the mission of the enlightened to cast off. Here, however, as in the earlier society, the pagan character of the proposed new life was only revealed by degrees to those who were prepared for it. The conspirators seem to have accommodated their system of education to the peculiarities of national training and disposition. For example, they humored the religious tendencies of the Italians by retaining the name of God and the image of the crucifix in the ceremonial of the lower degrees, and even published a forged bull, in the name of Pope Pius VII., approving the Carbonari; while in the training of Young Germany just a

contrary course was adopted. "We are obliged to treat new-comers very cautiously," says a report from a propagandist committee established among the Germans in Switzerland, "to bring them step by step into the right road, and the principal thing in this respect is to show them that religion is nothing but a pile of rubbish." Just so when Carbonarism was introduced into France: the religious phraseology and ceremonies which had been grafted upon its ritual for the satisfaction of Italian neophytes did not harmonize with French ideas, and all Catholic expressions were consequently expunged from French copies of the statutes. Indeed, the rampant atheism of the secret societies of Germany and France has always been notorious. Of the horrible manifestations of impiety among the higher degrees in Italy I hesitate to speak, lest I be accused of sensational exaggeration. Most of what I have thus far said of the principles and practices of the Carbonari and the Illuminated is quoted from their own authorities, and may be found in the work of their apologist, Thomas Frost.* For a more startling picture of their inner mysteries the reader is referred to Father Bresciani,† who lived in Rome in 1848 and had direct testimony of facts which almost defy belief. Mr. Frost, however, gives a glimpse of the worse than pagan spirit of Carbonarism when he

* *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution*, 1776-1876. By Thomas Frost. London. 1876.

† *The Jew of Verona.* English translation. Baltimore. 1854.

describes the initiation into the second degree—a ceremony wherein the candidate, crowned with thorns and bearing a cross, personated our divine Lord, and knelt to ask pardon of Pilate, Caiphas, and Herod, represented by the grand master and two assistants, the pardon being granted at the intercession of the assembled Carbonari! In all the societies an abstract morality was taught which was not the morality of Jesus Christ, and laws were laid down at variance with the laws of the state. Indeed, the members were carefully taught, by direct precept and by still more effective insinuation, that the supreme authority for them, above the secular power and above the Church, was the lodge. The society sought to detach them completely from the state by means of a code of laws distinct in form, and they were even forbidden to refer cases of litigation to the ordinary tribunals until they had been brought before the grand lodge, and reasons assigned for permitting a further investigation in a "pagan court."

But the chief agency which separated the associates from the outside world was the dagger. In the oath of initiation the newly-admitted member was required to invoke the most terrible penalties upon his own head if he violated his pledges to the order, and what those penalties were may be seen from the following articles of the secret statutes:

"Members who disobey the orders of this secret society, and they who unveil its mysteries, shall be poignarded without remission.

"The secret tribunal shall pronounce sentence by designating one or two associates for its immediate execution.

"The associate who shall refuse to execute the sentence pronounced shall be deemed a perjurer, and as such put to death on the spot.

"If the condemned victim try to escape by flight, he shall be pursued everywhere without delay, and struck by an invisible hand, even though he should fly for refuge to the bosom of his mother or to the tabernacle of Christ.

"Each secret tribunal shall be competent not only to judge guilty members of the society, but also to put to death all the persons whom it may devote to death."

Such was the terrible hidden agency which promoted the revolutions of the whole continent during the first half of the present century. I have said that it was only in the work of destruction, in hostility to the Christian religion and to social order, that the affiliated societies had their bond of union. Unity and Independence became after a while the cry by which they deceived the Italian people; but they were quite as active in France and Spain, where national unity was always secure, and in Switzerland, where popular rights were guaranteed by republican institutions, as in Italy, where petty states were governed by absolute princes and Austrian armies. And if there had been any doubt as to their ultimate purposes, that doubt must have been dispelled by their course during the past few years. The secret societies are now plotting as desperately against United Italy as they plotted,

before 1870, against the governments of divided Italy. Mazzini never pretended that their work was done when a king was set up in the Pope's palace. He died conspiring against Victor Emanuel and urging Italy to press on to "the goal of the revolution." The anniversary of his death was celebrated in March, 1877, by democratic demonstrations all over Italy, which the government was unable to suppress; the speakers at these meetings declared the commemorative ceremonies to be not merely a token of remembrance but a "promise," and they referred openly to "a time for action" which was yet to come; while simultaneously a seditious circular, claiming for the Carboneria the right "to indicate and open the way to the kingdom of liberty, to the triumph of justice, to social amelioration upon earth," was distributed among the ranks of the Italian army. A few days later several bands of Internationalists raised a revolt near Naples; and on the person of one of the conspirators arrested at that time was found the following declaration of principles:

"International Association of Working-men.
"Federation of Rome and Latium.
"Club of the Roman Socialist Propaganda.

"The club of the Roman Socialist Propaganda, accepting the general statutes of the International Association of Working-men as the rule of conduct which the proletariat must observe for its complete emancipation, establishes the following principles, which will constitute its revolutionary programme:

"In the first place, the said club wishes the supernatural removed from all the ties of life, as it tolerates no tyranny, either human or divine. Nevertheless, it has no intention of imposing atheist principles on the consciences of the members. It declares that it respects in the members themselves any religious principle whatever which they may cherish. It reserves to itself the right to combat superstition and error everywhere, confident that the development of science and instruction in the working-classes will destroy all idea of the supernatural, or of religion which betrays itself under any form of worship. Nevertheless, since the society of the future which it undertakes to found must consist only of producers, and since from this follows the disappearance of all consumers who are not producers, it denies emphatically the right of any one to make capital or to speculate on the belief of others.

"As for individual property, the said club, considering that the source and first cause of misery, of degradation, of servitude among the working-classes is precisely the accumulation in the hands of a few of the primary instruments and material of labor, declares it to be, on these grounds, supremely necessary for the emancipation of the working-men to destroy this accumulation in all its manifestations. Moreover, recognizing on the other hand that collective property, and hence the collectivism of the instruments of labor and production, are the only means for the total emancipation of the proletariat, the said club proposes to fight with all its strength, moral and material, for the destruction of individual property, and for the triumph and constitution of 'collectivism.'

"And since it recognizes that under the name of the state is summed up the first cause of the slavery of the human race, and since the state can only have in view, under whatever complexion it may be presented, the maintenance of the existing economic and social privileges,

the said club declares itself, on these grounds, in favor of true anarchy as the negation of all power whatever which is imposed from high to low, or *vice versa*.

"Denying the supernatural and denying the state, it follows as a necessary consequence that the club makes it its business to destroy the actual 'legal family,' there not being in the future any other hereditary duty than that of working with all energy for the development of science and industry, and there being no recognition among the men of the future of any other tie than that of mutual assistance and of the natural and brotherly affection which nature imposes upon man.

"Further, and as a logical consequence of the above reasoning, recognizing as the basis of justice and morality that all religious and social ties whatever must give way to the full liberty of union between man and woman, the said club declares in favor of this latter, knowing as it does that man as well as woman has the full right of free union without the intervention of any other in this purely personal act. However, as complete justice ought to be the foundation of the society of the future, the club recognizes that such union ought to be founded on reciprocal affection, esteem, and respect. Moreover, the said club desires that the society of the future should exercise surveillance over such union, in order that the rights of woman, as of man, be not prejudiced by any caprice whatever.

"Furthermore, the club recognizes in male and female the duty to rear and educate children always under the surveillance of the society, so long as these are not in a fit state to be taken as children of the society itself, to be thereafter trained and disciplined in the several institutions, and finally sent to those trades and arts which they shall freely select without pressure on the part of any one. It denies, however, any mastership by parents over children, recognizing these as children of

society, to which they shall be bound by special duties and rights.

"On this basis the Roman Socialist Club declares that it will co-operate with all its might for the foundation of the social organism of the future as that which it recognizes to be the genuine bulwark of morality, of equality, and of justice."

Undoubtedly these destructive and atheistic principles were not held by a large proportion of the revolutionary party in any country, but they constituted the true esoteric doctrine of many of the secret societies, and wherever the revolt gained a temporary success they were sure to manifest themselves and to shape the course of the insurgents. During the first half of the century the outbreaks were almost incessant. France lived in perpetual alarm. Every capital in Germany was in nightly danger of the dagger, the torch, and the barricade. Italy was a wretched and distracted land of conspiracies and assassinations, suspicious princes and iron laws. And in whatever foreign country the standard of local revolt might be raised, at once the beacon-lights of rebellion seemed to flash from the Italian hills. The Spanish insurrection in 1820 was the signal for a rising at Naples. The French Revolution of 1830 inspired the outbreak in the Romagna. The weak and uneasy states of Italy became a standing menace to all the absolute governments of the continent; and Austria in particular, mistress of Lombardy and Venice, made it her ungrateful part to keep the whole peninsula in subjection.

It was Mazzini who first perceived that the secret societies, defeated in all their isolated attempts at revolution by this stern and formidable power at the north, must change their policy, drop the old methods of conspiracy for a while, cultivate the popular aspirations for independence, and concentrate their energies upon the ejection of the foreigner and the consolidation of all the Italian states. The fate of pope and priests, kings and princes, could be settled afterwards. It was with this view that he organized at Marseilles, in 1831, the Society of Young Italy, whose watchword, Union and Independence, captivated at once the generous, the ardent, the impulsive, the ambitious, and brought to the same work poetry, patriotism, and religion, the pistol, the dagger, and the poisoned cup. What was to be done with Italy when it was united and rid of the Austrians was one of the secrets of the initiated never explained to the common people. But remarkable illustrations of the inner character of the movement were found in 1844 among certain papers seized by the police in Rome. "Our watchword," wrote one of the leaders, "must be Religion, Union, Independence. As for the King of Sardinia, we should seek some favorable opportunity to poignard him. I recommend the same course to be pursued in regard to the King of Naples. The Lombards may second our efforts by poison, or by insurrection against the Germans, after the example of 'The Sicilian Vespers.' Functionaries or private citizens who show a hostile spirit

must be put to death. Let them be arrested quietly during the night, and the report be circulated that they have been exiled or sent to prison, or have absconded." The conspirator Ricciardi wrote: "Independence can only be acquired by revolution and war; we must put aside all considerations founded on the progress of knowledge, civilization, industry, the increase of wealth, and public prosperity. . . . The fatal plant, born in Judea, has only reached this high point of growth and vigor because it was watered with waves of blood. . . . Soon a new era will begin for men—the glorious era of a redemption quite different from that announced by Christ." And Mazzini himself a little later, in an address to Young Italy, gave a significant explanation of his scheme: "In great countries it is by the people that we must seek regeneration; in yours it is by the princes. Get them on your side. Attack their vanity. Let them march at the head, if they will, so long as they march your way. Few will go to the end. The essential thing is not to let them know the goal of the revolution. They must never see more than one step at a time. Profit by the least concession to assemble the masses, if it be only to testify gratitude. Fêtes, songs, assemblies, relations established between men of different opinions, stimulate the growth of ideas, give the people a feeling of strength, and make them exacting. You must *manage* the clergy, because the people believe in it; already it holds half the doctrine of socialism, for, like us, it has the sentiment of fra-

ternity, which it calls charity. But its hierarchy and habits make it the imp of authority—that is, of despotism. We must take what it has of good and leave the bad. Try to make equality penetrate the Church, and all will go well. Associate! associate! associate! Everything is in this one word. Secret societies confer an irresistible force on the party which can avail itself of them. When a large number of associates, receiving the countersign to spread a certain idea and to make it public opinion, shall be able to concert a movement, they will find the old structure riddled in every part and ready to fall as if by a miracle at the first breath of progress. They will be astonished themselves to see kings and princes, the priests and the rich, who formed the ancient social edifice, flying before the sole power of opinion. Courage, then, and perseverance."

In the prosecution of this new scheme of revolution the conspirators obtained invaluable help from a most unexpected ally. The erring genius of the brilliant, learned, but unfortunate priest and philosopher, Vincenzo Gioberti, did more for them than the machinations of the lodges. Carried away by visions of a new Italy and a new Catholicism, he forgot the divine mission of the Church in speculations as to what she might accomplish in purely secular enterprises. His great error was in thinking of religion as an agent of civilization rather than an instrumentality for saving souls, and thus he was led into the blunder of attempting to unite

God and the world in an equal partnership. He conceived the idea of an Italian federation with the King of Sardinia as military head and the Pope as spiritual president—a sort of dual empire like that of Japan, with a tycoon at Turin, a mikado at the Vatican. He affirmed that the clergy had failed to recognize the progress of civil and social culture, and had therefore lost its influence over the human mind. Nations had reached their majority and could no longer be held in tutelage. The priests must give up a dominion incompatible with modern civilization, throw themselves into the front of the new social movements, and, hand-in-hand with the political agitators, lead Italy to a material glory such as no nation on earth had ever seen. His book, *Del Pimato morale e civile degli Italiani*, was welcomed with unbounded enthusiasm. The charm of a glowing style, the force of an original, cultivated, and poetic mind, the glamour of a philosophy which seemed to meet all the wants of an exciting and uneasy time, turned the heads of the whole nation. Gioberti, Cesare Balbo, Massimo d'Azeglio, were the creators of a new literature, and Italy read them with flashing eyes and quickening pulse. Theirs was a reform which seized upon the fancy of good and bad alike, and hurried into a common delusion the heedless Christian and the veteran Carbonaro, the young, the imaginative, the adventurous, and the artful. Mazzini, who afterwards became one of Gioberti's bitterest enemies, was too shrewd to undervalue this influence. He

sought an interview with Gioberti in Paris; he offered terms of co-operation; he even went through the form of renouncing what he styled his own "more narrow views," and suggested a National Association which, adjourning all questions of forms and spirit of government, faith or scepticism, God or the devil, should unite Italy in the single purpose of creating an Italian nation. Different as the aims of the two men were—for Gioberti included even the Austrian government of Lombardy and Venice in his proposed union—they embraced each other for the moment. Together they swept the peninsula. Every city from Palermo to Milan was aflame with the new ideas. The soberest patriots lost their composure, and some of the clergy began to dream wild dreams of political change, and to see visions of reformed conspirators kneeling at the feet of a democratic pope. We look back upon those days from the vantage-ground of experience, and we wonder that men should have been so deceived. But 1848 had not then given the lie to the professions of 1846. Devout Italians at that time did not see that the secret societies which assailed the Church on one side of the Alps with fire and sword could not be sincere in offering to place it in a new position of power and glory on the other.

Such was the moral and political ferment which agitated Italy during the last days of Gregory XVI. That much-maligned Pope spent the whole fifteen years of his reign in violent efforts to keep back the threatened explosion. Whether any policy that lay

within his choice would have sufficed to set to rights such evil times may be doubted. The policy of strict repression, at any rate, did not, and at the beginning of the year 1846 a catastrophe appeared to be inevitable. Perhaps it was the age and infirmities of the Pontiff, after all, that postponed the outbreak. He was plainly nearing his end; and the leaders of Young Italy preferred to wait.

CHAPTER V.

THE CONCLAVE.

ON the death of Gregory the whole peninsula was in commotion. For a time it seemed impossible that the conclave should meet in peace. Rome was in an uproar. The provinces were on the verge of revolt. Austrian troops crossed the frontier to preserve order. An Austrian fleet appeared at Ancona. In the diplomatic circle there was unusual activity. The character and policy of the Pope now to be chosen portended much to the secular governments outside of Italy; most of all, it was thought, to Austria and to France. Austria wished for a Pope of uncompromising disposition and absolutist tendencies. France earnestly desired a man of liberal and popular opinions, who sympathized with the aspiration for progress and the clamor for administrative reforms. The candidate of the Austrian party was Cardinal Lambruschini, Gregory's secretary of state. The favorites of the populace were Cardinal Gizzi and Cardinal Micara, neither of whom, however, had more than one or two supporters in the Sacred College. The party which, for want of a more appropriate term, may be called that of the

moderate liberals placed its hopes in Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti, and all the influence of France was thrown in his favor. The multitude of Romans knew little or nothing about him, for he seldom went to Rome. But among the cardinals his disapproval of some of the political measures of the preceding reign was no secret, and his amiable and saintly character was certainly understood. When, therefore, the French ambassador, Count Rossi, pressed his name upon the members of the Sacred College, the suggestion met with much favor. How much effect the representations of the ambassador really may have had we can only conjecture, but in the election of Pius IX. the French Government certainly believed that it had gained a diplomatic victory. "All the world congratulates us," wrote Rossi to M. Guizot as soon as the new Pope was proclaimed, "on a choice conformable with our views."

It was on the 14th of June that the cardinals entered their cells in the Quirinal, the doors were closed, and the guards were posted. The Austrian Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Gaysruck, had not yet arrived. It was well known that he was charged by the court of Vienna to exercise the privilege of veto claimed by the Austrian Government, and it was understood that his instructions were to interpose this barrier to the choice of either Gizzi or Mastai. The Austrian resident minister protested against the opening of the conclave in the Milanese cardinal's absence, but in

vain. The circumstances of the time forbade unnecessary delay, and, besides, it seems to have been the opinion of the Sacred College that the interference of Austria had perhaps already been carried too far.

At the first meeting of the conclave the name of Cardinal Mastai was proposed by Cardinal Altieri, Prince-Bishop of Albano, and as soon as the balloting began it became clear that the contest was entirely between him and Cardinal Lambruschini. There are two processes of voting in ordinary papal elections. The first is by "scrutiny," wherein each cardinal writes the name of his candidate on a ballot, and places it in a chalice on the altar of the chapel where the proceedings are held. The ballots are then opened and counted by three scrutators, chosen by lot among the cardinals, and, if no one has received the two-thirds required to elect, the conclave passes to the second process. In this, which is called "accession," any cardinal has the privilege of changing his vote, and "acceding" to the choice of some one already voted for by his colleagues, but he may not introduce a new candidate. The balloting takes place twice every day.

In the conclave of 1846 there were fifty-four cardinals present, and the number of votes necessary to elect was consequently thirty-six. The first ballot took place on the morning of the 15th, and the suffrages of the college were found to be scattered among no fewer than twenty-two candidates.

But only two of these really commanded a party. Cardinal Lambruschini had nine votes by the scrutiny and six more by accession; Cardinal Mastai had eight by the scrutiny and five by accession. Cardinal Gizzi had two. At the evening session Lambruschini had fallen from fifteen to thirteen, and Mastai had risen from thirteen to twenty-two. On the morning of the next day Lambruschini's vote was eleven; Mastai's was twenty-seven. The final result was no longer doubtful—provided Cardinal Gaysruck did not arrive with the veto from Vienna before the evening. As it happened, the Austrian representative was still far off on the road, and he did not reach Rome until the day after the new Pontiff had been proclaimed.

Cardinal Mastai meanwhile retired to his cell and spent the hours in prayer. He came to the afternoon session pale and trembling. He was one of the three tellers appointed to open the ballots. When they were taken from the chalice he read his own name on the first, on the second, on the third—on every paper up to the eighteenth. He could not go on; he begged in vain that another might finish the task. The cardinals gathered around him, and for some time he sat terrified and almost insensible, while tears streamed down his cheeks. On the completion of the count it was found that he had twenty-seven votes; accession gave him nine more; and then the whole assembly rose to confirm the choice by unanimous acclama-

tion. It is said that he "prayed and insisted that the cardinals should remove that cup from his lips"; but they would not annul their decision. He fell upon his knees before the altar, and in the midst of profound silence communed for a while with God.

Then the junior cardinal-deacon struck a bell. The master of ceremonies, the secretary of the Sacred College, and the sacristan entered the chapel. The cardinal-camerlengo and the three cardinal-heads of orders approached the new Pope and asked of him, *Acceptasne electionem de te canonice factam in Summum Pontificem?*—"Do you accept your canonical election as Supreme Pontiff?" As he signified assent the canopies erected over the seats of the fifty-three remaining cardinals suddenly dropped, and his alone was left erect. The cardinal-dean drew near, and enquired what name he chose to assume. He took the name of his first protector, Pius VII. Then the master of ceremonies led him to the sacristy, where three full suits of pontifical vestments, of various sizes, had been prepared in advance; and selecting the set which corresponded with his stature, Pius IX. put on the white cassock and cap, returned to the altar, gave his first apostolic benediction, and took his seat on the throne to receive the homage of the conclave.

That night he wrote the following letter to his brothers at Sinigaglia:

"ROME, June 16, at three-quarters past 11 P.M.

"DEAR BROTHERS JOSEPH, GABRIEL, and GAETANO:

"The blessed God, who abases and raises up according to his divine will, has thought fit to lift up my lowliness to the most sublime dignity of this world. His holy will be always done. I know the awful weight of so great a charge, and I know likewise the insufficiency, the utter nullity, of my own strength. Have prayers said for me, and pray for me yourselves. The conclave lasted forty-eight hours. If the municipality should think fit to go to any expense in celebrating this event, contrive—indeed, it is my will—to have the whole sum spent on something profitable to the city, according to the directions of the mayor and council. As to yourselves, dear brothers, I embrace you with all my heart in Jesus Christ; far from exulting, pity your brother, who gives to all of you the apostolic benediction.

"PIUS PP. IX."

It was on the following morning, June 17, that according to custom the bricked-up window in front of the Quirinal was opened, and the cardinals came out upon the balcony to announce their choice. Already it was known throughout the city that an election had taken place, for after every unsuccessful scrutiny the ballots are burned with a little damp straw, and the smoke, issuing from a certain chimney, informs the crowd watching outside, that no choice has been made. At the appointed hour on the last evening there was no smoke, and the populace crowded betimes next day to the noble square before the palace. "The piazza of the Quirinal," wrote

an English eye-witness,* "presented a magnificent *coup-d'œil.* The sky was most beautiful, the piazza crowded with people, the troops drawn up in array, and all with their faces turned towards the balcony. At nine were heard the blows of hammers breaking down a window that is ordinarily built up. Shortly after the cardinal-camerlengo appeared with the bearer of the crucifix, and announced to the people the exaltation to the Papacy of the cardinal, who took the name of Pius IX. The populace responded with shouts of joy." "I bring you a message of great joy"—so ran the formula of declaration: "we have a Pope, the most eminent and most reverend Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti, who has taken the name of Pius IX." Then, while the cannon of the Castle of St. Angelo thundered a salute and acclamations rent the air, the white-robed figure appeared in the midst of the brilliant throng on the balcony, and raised his hand in that gesture of benediction which all who ever saw him will long associate with his memory.

* *Italy in the Nineteenth Century.* By the Rt. Hon. James Whiteside, M.P.

CHAPTER VI.

THE NEW POPE.

THE story of his first days in the pontificate reads like a charming romance. His accession was celebrated according to custom by profuse benefactions to the poor. Fifty-three young girls in Rome and the suburban parishes received dowries of fifty-three crowns each.* A thousand in the provinces received dowries of ten crowns. Six thousand crowns were distributed in alms. All articles pawned by the poor in the government Mont-de-Piété were redeemed; and all the debtors confined at the Capitol were released at the Pontiff's expense.

He called the steward of the palace and said to him: "When I was bishop I spent for my personal expenses a crown a day; when I was cardinal I spent a crown and a half; and now that I am Pope you must not go beyond two crowns." Before his time it was usual in summer to have a variety of water-ices and other light refreshments always in readiness at the palace, and one day, when he asked for a little orangeade, a lackey quickly appeared with an array of pastry and ices

* The Roman crown is about a dollar.

of various sorts. Displeased at this wasteful custom, of which he had never heard before, the Pope sent away the tray, and, calling for a knife and an orange, prepared the drink himself. He forbade any repetition of the pastry-cook's extravagance.

His tastes and habits were extremely simple. He liked to walk the streets without attendants, and to speak with all who had anything to ask of him, especially with the poor. He visited the hospitals, unannounced, to see how they were administered and to talk with the patients. He entered the schools, and delighted the children by distributing the prizes at the examinations. Often when the little ones were to receive their First Communion he appeared without warning in the sanctuary, and administered the sacred Host with his own hands. Children loved him instinctively, and approached him without fear. He was leaving a church one day when a boy marched up to him, and said: "Are you the Pope?"

"Yes, my little friend."

"I have no father."

"Then I will be a father to you," was the characteristic rejoinder; and after enquiring into the child's history he charged himself with his support and education.

A child wrote to him: "Holy Father, my mother is a widow and sick, and I am too young to take care of her. If you do not help me I cannot buy medicine for her. We must have thirty-three pauls; and I will come to the Quirinal to-morrow

to ask you for them." The Pope ordered that he should be admitted, and, after some questions, gave him a piece of money. "That's three pauls too much," said the lad, "and I have no change." He was told to keep it, and so dismissed. As his story proved to be true, the Pope sent for him again.

"You are a brave lad and a good son," said the Holy Father, "and I am going to take care of you for the future."

"Oh! that can't be," answered the boy, "because my mother has nobody but me, and I must not leave her."

"Well, then," said the Pope, "I shall take care of your mother too."

One day he met a little fellow on the road outside the walls lugging home a faggot of dry sticks which he had gathered in the neighboring woods.

"I hope you have not stolen that, my child," said the Pope, "for that would be a sin."

"Oh! no, Holy Father."

"Well, what are you going to do with it?"

"I am going to take it home to cook the *polenta*."

"Would you not rather sell it?"

"Why not, if you would like to buy?"

"Very well, take this money, then." And the Pope, giving him a piece of silver, went on his way. The boy looked for a moment in surprise at the large coin, and then ran after the Pontiff, cry-

ing: "Hi! Holy Father, where do you want me to carry the faggot?"

A poor market-gardener lost his horse, and walked boldly into the palace to ask the Pope if he could not spare an old one from the Quirinal stables. A secretary found the man on the stairs and took his message to the Holy Father. "Yes," was the Pope's reply; "and give him this money, too. He must be very poor, or he would not want one of the Quirinal horses."

One day a soldier on duty at the palace held out a loaf of army bread as the Pope passed. Pius took it and found it to be bad.

"Do you always get bread like this?" he asked.

"Always, Holy Father."

"Well, we will look to it."

The next day the Pope examined the bread again, and the day after the military purveyor was in prison.

Disguised in lay costume, he entered a hospital, and found a patient dying and the chaplain absent. He placed himself by the bed of the sick man, heard his confession, and administered the last sacraments; and the chaplain was promptly dismissed. In disguise, also, he visited the prisons to detect abuses, and the convents to test the strictness of the religious observance. One evening, rather late, a stranger in a cloak knocked at the gate of a certain monastery and asked for the prior.

"Is this a time of night," cried the porter through

the grate, "to come knocking at the door of a convent? Go away. The prior is in bed and the community is asleep. You can come back in the morning."

But the visitor insisted: "Tell the prior that Brother Mastai wishes to see him."

"Brother Mastai! And who is Brother Mastai, I should like to know?"

Here a dreadful thought came to the porter: Mastai was the name of the Pope; trembling, he opened the door and recognized his illustrious guest. Pius inspected the convent and ordered the community to be assembled. Two of the monks were missing; in violation of the rule they were passing the night outside, and the prior explained that they allowed themselves this irregularity on account of the hot weather. "The rule is for summer as well as winter," said the Pope; and then he addressed to the superior a severe reprimand. The next day the two truant monks were ordered to a house of ecclesiastical correction.

He set himself at once to correct laxity in religious establishments, renew the strictness of conventual life, and revive the spirit of self-abnegation, simplicity, and piety which distinguished the primitive monastic foundations. He knew that negligence rather than actual corruption was the great danger which monks had to dread, and to keep their zeal always fresh he established a new congregation of cardinals for the supervision of the religious orders. He showed a deep and special

concern for the spiritual welfare of all priests charged with the care of souls. A few months after his election he assembled at the Quirinal the preachers appointed for the coming Lent in Rome. "Do not forget," said he, "that the secret of your strength is in your love; if you do not love men, if your hearts are not filled with affection and devotion, you will have no influence upon them. Watch over your own conduct. Be severe to yourselves, and do not let the faithful say of you, as subjects under a despotism say of their rulers, "Our masters keep all the rights for themselves and leave us nothing but the duties.'"

Conversing one day with the celebrated preacher, Father Ventura, who had been his classmate in boyhood and his close friend in later years, he complained bitterly of the prevalence of profanity among the working classes. "Why do you not thunder from the pulpit against this deplorable practice?"

"Holy Father," replied the preacher, "I have done so many a time, but to no avail."

"Well, then, I suppose I ought to try my turn," said the Pope; "but it is so long since any pontiff has been seen in the pulpit, and I have so little eloquence, that I am afraid of offering only a vain spectacle of which the people will not profit."

"Your Holiness is mistaken. The attachment of the people to your person is at least a pledge that they will listen attentively to your words."

"So be it. You are to preach on the 13th of

January at S. Andrea della Valle; give up your place to me, and keep the secret."

On the appointed day indescribable was the wonder of the immense audience collected to hear Father Ventura when they saw the Sovereign Pontiff ascend the pulpit. It was so many ages since a Pope had preached that the innovation created an excitement all over Rome, and, whatever the practical effect of the sermon may have been, it was certainly listened to with breathless attention.

A Roman noble, displeased with his two sons, left all his fortune by will to the priest who should say the first Mass in his parish church, on the morning of the funeral. The Pope, informed of this unjust testament, said the Mass himself, and having obtained the fortune, divided it between the rightful heirs.

One of the Pope's nephews came to Rome after the election, expecting to obtain the title of count. Pius sent him back to Sinigaglia, and bade him warn the family not to look for preferment merely because they were related to the Pontiff. Another nephew was an officer in the army, and to him Pius announced that he must hope for promotion only as he earned it by merit and length of service.

The modest scale of his private expenditures, and the abolition of various abuses and extravagances in the administration of the palace, enabled him to enlarge his charities, and there was not a corner of

Rome into which his beneficence did not bring happiness. Nor was it only by the comparatively easy method of reckless almsgiving that he sought to relieve distress. He tried to help the poor most of all by finding work for them and stimulating commerce and manufactures. He broke up many burdensome monopolies. He introduced railways. He opened ports of entry. He established iron-works. He encouraged the formation of agricultural societies and the reclaiming of waste lands. He founded free lodging-houses for the poor, and reading-rooms, and mechanics' clubs, and training-schools for artisans. He showed the utmost charity and tenderness to the oppressed Jews; set aside an annual sum for the relief of their poor; gave money for the repair of their synagogue; allowed them to elect a high-priest after they had been twelve years without one; and broke down for ever the barrier that confined them to the Ghetto—so long the reproach of a tyrannous Christian civilization. A terrible inundation of the Tiber, by which the Jews were the greatest sufferers, happened in the first year of his pontificate. "This disastrous calamity," says the Protestant Mr. Legge, "only supplied the Pope with an opportunity for displaying afresh his Christian benevolence and his generous devotion to the temporal as well as spiritual well-being of his people. Ungrudgingly, and with splendid munificence, he contributed to aid the unhappy victims of this disaster, forestalling the demand for redress and the commotion with which

in all probability it would have been attended." When Pius IX. was proclaimed from the balcony of the Quirinal, the populace, ignorant of this Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti, and disappointed, perhaps, in a hope of the election of Gizzi, looked at him with some doubt. But long before the end of the year they had conceived for him a true, deep, enthusiastic affection which no political changes and excitements in after-time could ever wholly remove from their hearts.

While the personal character of the new Pontiff captivated the Roman multitude, the earliest indications of his public policy filled Italy with enthusiasm. One of his first acts was to declare an amnesty for all political offences, and a characteristic anecdote is told of him in connection with it. He called a council of his principal advisers, and asked their votes upon the proposed measure of mercy. To his chagrin, a majority of the balls voted were black. He took off his white cap and placed it over them. "Now," said he, "they are all white." The prisons were opened. The exiles returned. One thousand six hundred persons were restored to freedom and friends. The concession of an amnesty, under restrictions, was a common enough act of a new papal government, but never before had a pardon been granted so sweeping and so complete. None were excepted from its provisions, save a very few "ecclesiastics, military officers, and civil servants" whose cases were reserved for especial examination; and no conditions were

imposed upon the pardoned, except that they should promise in writing "never to abuse this favor," and "to fulfil all the duties of good subjects." Rome was in a tumult of joy. Veteran conspirators threw themselves at the Pope's feet. Some of those who were afterwards the most active in the overthrow of his government were the first to pledge their eternal fidelity. The populace thronged about him whenever he went abroad, cast flowers in his path, waited for hours before the palace windows to get his blessing. On the feast of St. Peter's Chains a great number of the pardoned received communion from the Holy Father's hands. The demonstrations of rejoicing reached an unheard-of extravagance. It was almost a continual holiday in Rome, with gay processions by day and torchlight parades by night, public banquets in the vineyards and gardens, triumphal arches spanning the streets, the papal colors—white and yellow—fluttering from every window and decorating every breast.

The work of administrative reform was pushed with the utmost activity, and the Pope gave his personal care to the details of almost every department of the government. He improved the finances, reduced the taxes, abolished sinecures, cut down the expenditures, reorganized the courts of law. The French ambassador, Count Rossi, writing to M. Guizot, gave an interesting account of an unofficial conversation with the Pope respecting the correction of abuses. "This is what

I can and ought to do," said Pius, after explaining his plans. "A Pope has no business to plunge into utopian schemes. Would you believe it? there are people who speak of an Italian league with the Pope at its head. As if such a thing were possible! Those are chimeras."

"Besides," replied the count, "your Holiness has other matters with which to occupy yourself. You have traced the route you have to follow, and better results will ensue; the end of abuses, which I fear are numerous, and the introduction of regularity and order—such, I think, is the wish of your Holiness."

"You are right," said the Pope; "such is my purpose. I must, in the first place, re-establish our finances; but I require a little time."

"No one," answered Rossi, "expects from your Holiness precipitate measures; the essential point is to let it be known that they are in active operation. The confidence of the public is entirely attained; they will wait with gratitude and respect."

The organization of the new government was a matter of some difficulty. All the cardinals perceived the necessity of reform, but there were great differences of opinion as to the particular measures which could be safely adopted. The Pope was hard pressed likewise by exterior forces—by Austria on the one hand, and the intrigues of Piedmont, the plots of the Mazzinians, and the precipitation of the Roman people on the other. His own resolution, however, was taken promptly, and he held to

it without wavering. For the first few weeks of his reign he called to his aid in the administration a temporary commission of six cardinals, among whom were the foremost representatives of both parties—the popular Gizzi and the unpopular Lambruschini—but in August Cardinal Gizzi was appointed Secretary of State, and the enthusiasm of the populace rose higher and higher. The ceremony of taking possession of the church of St. John Lateran, on the 8th of November, called out extraordinary demonstrations of rejoicing. "The spectacle is most imposing," writes an English observer; "but on this occasion the shouts of thousands of grateful people gave a life to the ceremony without which it had been cold, and of the vast multitude assembled every individual exhibited the joy of his heart. The Pope raised himself and stood upright for some minutes, the triple crown on his head; this was the signal for fresh acclamations. He gave the blessing, waving his hand in the form of a cross. A burst of enthusiasm followed; the cannon thundered, the music sounded, drums, trumpets, and pealing of bells joined with the people in one mighty chorus, and the pageant was over." Yet how little the Pope was affected by the intoxication of flattery and the shouts of the multitude, and how well he understood the hidden forces which were even then undermining his throne, appeared in his first encyclical letter, published the day after this splendid celebration. He censured, in severe terms, the secret

societies, "which emerge from their native darkness for the ruin and desolation of the community"; the "guilty fellowship" of men "who drag to light the most monstrous shapes of error"; "the haters of truth, the skilful artificers of fraud, who labor to extinguish in men's minds every impulse of piety, justice, and honor, to corrupt morals, to confound all ideas of divine and human right, and to overturn the foundations of the Catholic religion and of civil society." He condemned the opinion that "the progress and development which mark the course of human affairs can prevail also in the Catholic religion, the perfect work of God, not to be improved by the genius of man." He denounced the dangerous tendencies of the "Bible societies, which obtrude upon all kinds of people copies of the Sacred Scriptures translated into living languages, and accompanied frequently with perverse and erroneous interpretations, to the end that every man, setting aside the authority of the Church, may interpret the revealed word of Almighty God in conformity with his private judgment." Thus, at the very beginning of his reign, the Sovereign Pontiff defined, with clear and positive voice, the same irreconcilable hostility of Catholic teaching to the fallacies of modern liberalism which he stated a quarter of a century later in a still more celebrated encyclical.

Naturally, the letter of November, 1846, made a profound impression throughout Europe, and caused no little irritation among Protestants, who had cherished wild and absurd ideas of the "re-

forming Pope"; but whatever momentary disappointment may have followed this invigorating declaration of the papal authority was soon effaced by the effect of his political policy. The censorship of the press was relaxed. The governors of provinces were instructed to call together the most influential laymen within their jurisdiction, and consider with them the reforms most urgently needed. A Consulta of State was organized, composed of lay deputies from the provinces, who were to assemble in Rome "to assist the Pope in the administration, and to give their opinion on matters of government connected with the general interests of the state and those of the provinces, on the preparation, amendment, and execution of the laws, on the creation and redemption of public debts, on the imposition or reduction of taxes, on the tariff and the budget, on the revision and reform of the organization of local councils, etc." A council of ministers was formed at the same time, with Cardinal Gizzi at the head, and Antonelli, who enjoyed great popularity at that time, in charge of the portfolio of finance. A little later a municipal government was granted to the city of Rome, with a council of one hundred members, and an upper chamber composed of a "senator" and eight "conservators" chosen by the council from its own members. Negotiations were opened with other Italian states for the establishment of a customs union, intended to be the basis of a still more intimate confederation. The most important of the new measures, however, was the

formation in Rome of a Civic Guard, or volunteer militia, which, of all popular institutions, is the most thoroughly incompatible with an absolute personal government. The public rejoicings at this manifestation of the Pope's confidence in his people would be thought extravagant, if we did not know the sentiment which lay behind the noisy demonstrations of gratitude. The young men who hastened to don a showy uniform and devote themselves to exercises of arms were not merely enamored of military life and proud of their unaccustomed honors and responsibilities, but they were burning with the warlike fever which was soon to precipitate the revolution; and to many of them the enrolment of the Civic Guard meant only a long step towards the expulsion of the Austrians.

Meanwhile, this steady, careful, and voluntary progress of the Pope towards constitutional forms was watched by the world with diverse feelings. The animosity of Austria was not concealed. Several of the Italian states united in a note to the Austrian Government, calling attention to what they called the dangerous policy of the Pope, and Austria not only remonstrated with the Roman court, but plotted incessantly to defeat the Holy Father's benevolent purposes. France, on the contrary, gave Pius a frank and generous support. Louis Philippe sent the Prince de Joinville to Rome with a message of compliment and congratulation, and the ministry, led by M. Guizot, vied with the opposition, led by M. Thiers, in resolu-

tions and speeches of encouragement. Eulogies were pronounced in the British House of Commons. It was proposed to appoint an English ambassador to the Quirinal, and the scheme was only abandoned in consequence of the unwillingness of the British Government to receive an ecclesiastic as the Pope's representative at St. James's. In New York a great public meeting of Protestants was held at the Broadway Tabernacle, in November, 1847, to present the "hearty and respectful salutations" of the American people to the Sovereign Pontiff "for the noble part he had taken in behalf of his subjects." The address on this occasion was written by Horace Greeley, and among the distinguished men who wrote to express their sympathy with the demonstration were ex-President Van Buren, Vice-President Dallas, Mr. Buchanan, who was then Secretary of State, and Edward Everett, who was then president of Harvard College. Even Mazzini, true to the policy already explained, wrote to the Pope in September, 1847: "Holy Father, I watch your progress with immense hopes. Be confident, trust in us, and we will found for you a government unique in Europe. We know how to convert into an active force the instinct with which Italy is now quivering from end to end; we can raise up support for you in the midst of all the peoples of Europe, and find friends for you even in the ranks of the Austrians. We alone can do this, because we are united in our aim and have faith in the truth of our principle. I write to you because I

believe you worthy to initiate this grand enterprise." M. Guizot addressed a note to the French representatives at the European courts, announcing the desire of France that in all countries the necessary reforms should be accomplished regularly, progressively, and by consent between the governments and peoples, and pointing to Pius IX. as an example of a wise and patriotic ruler. "The Pope," said he, "in the great work of reform he has undertaken, displays a deep sense of his dignity as Head of the Catholic Church and of his rights as a sovereign, and shows himself equally determined to maintain them within and without his states."

CHAPTER VII.

CONSPIRACY.

THUS cheered and honored at home and abroad, by friends and by enemies, the Papacy shone with a glory such as it had not displayed since Leo X. But under the outward show of peace the Pontiff well knew that conspiracy was active. Many careful foreign observers reported, even when the songs of triumph were loudest in the streets of Rome, and when the multitudes came by torchlight to kneel in the piazza in front of the Quirinal and ask for the Pope's blessing before they went to bed, that these transports were not entirely sincere. After the proclamation of amnesty and the relaxation of police surveillance thousands of the revolutionists poured into Rome and made that city the nursery of plots. The instructions of Mazzini were carefully obeyed: "Profit by the least concession to assemble the masses, if only to testify gratitude. Festivals, songs, assemblies give the people a feeling of strength and make them exacting. A king grants a more liberal law; applaud it, and demand that which must logically follow. Associate, associate! Everything is in that one word." So while on the one

hand the gratitude of the people was never allowed to flag, on the other they were never allowed to feel that their demands had been satisfied. Every concession inflamed the popular uneasiness. Every demonstration in honor of the Holy Father covered a revolt in disguise. "We must make him our political *bœuf gras*," said Mazzini. At festivals the agents of Young Italy and of the secret societies mingled with the crowd, and added seditious cries to the genuine acclamations of the people. When the Pope walked abroad they followed him, to interrupt the cheers for the Pontiff with demonstrations against his government. Less than two months after his accession, as he drove under an arch erected in his honor, the mob stopped some of the prelates of his suite, and refused to let them pass beneath the triumphal emblems. The shouts of "Viva Pio Nono!" soon changed to "Viva Pio Nono *solo!*" and with them were heard "Down with the Jesuits!" and "Death to the retrograders!" Every gathering of the people—a scientific congress at Genoa, a patriotic anniversary, a working-men's debating club, a picnic, a parade—became an occasion of political agitation. In the taverns where Angelo Brunetti, nicknamed Ciceruacchio, or "Little Cicero," fascinated the common people by his good-fellowship and his fluent tongue; in the cafés; in the Circolo Romano and the Circolo Popolare; in the parlors of Lord Palmerston's special envoy, Lord Minto, where gathered a strange company of advanced Liberals—Charles

Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, the radical of rank; Ciceruacchio, the leader of the rabble; Sterbini, the poet, physician, and journalist; and Galletti, the pardoned exile, who had just sworn to shed his blood for the Pope if the Pope would have it—the complaint was nightly heard that Pius was too slow; that there were too many "reactionists" around him; that there ought to be more laymen in the administration and more power for the Consulta of State. And gradually out of all this agitation a demand for the destruction of the existing Italian governments was shaping itself into expression. In April, 1847, a festival was held ostensibly to celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, and there was a great meeting at the Baths of Titus, where Massimo d'Azeglio made an address, and referred amid thunders of applause to "the expulsion of the Goths, Huns, and other Vandals" from Italy—an allusion which, of course, there was no mistaking.

In the summer of 1847 great preparations were made for the first anniversary of the proclamation of amnesty. Suddenly Rome was thrown into wild confusion by the rumor of a reactionist conspiracy. It was gravely alleged that Cardinal Lambruschini, the Austrian Government, and the general of the Jesuits had concerted a plot to seize the Pope and carry him off. The proposed celebration was forbidden. The people flew to arms. Lists of cardinals and others accused of complicity in the nefarious scheme were posted all over the city, with the

inscription, "All devoted to the eternal execration of the people." The suspected cardinals fled. For two days and nights the police was helpless, and Rome was entirely in the hands of Ciceruacchio. It was this democratic tribune who mounted the steps of the Pope's carriage one day with a tricolor flag inscribed, "Holy Father, rely upon the people," while the people rent the air with execrations of the Jesuits, the ministry, and the police.

Mr. Legge describes an impressive scene at the Quirinal when a multitude, half loyal, half seditious, came to cheer the Pope for some popular act. "The Pontiff showed himself at the balcony, and intimated his wish to address the crowd. The silence was profound, and he spoke as follows:

"'Before the benediction of God descends upon you, on the rest of my people, and, I say it again, *on all Italy*, I pray you to be of one mind and to keep the faith you have sworn to me, the Pontiff.'

"At these words the silence of deep feeling was broken by a sudden thunder of acclamation, 'Yes, I swear,' and Pius IX. proceeded:

"'I warn you, however, of the raising of *certain cries* that are not of the people but of a few individuals, and against making any such requests to me as are incompatible with the sanctity of the Church; for these I cannot, I may not, and I will not grant. This being understood, with my whole soul I bless you.'"

Farini quotes a secret letter from the French Prefect of Police to the Minister of the Interior, dated

in January, 1848: "I am told that Mazzini is come to Paris, in order to take counsel with such of his friends as are here about the means of raising money to despatch emissaries into Tuscany and Piedmont and to Rome and Naples, who will have instructions to second the existing movement and to ingratiate themselves with the patriots. They have been recommended to study the character of Ciceruacchio, the popular leader in Rome, and to exert themselves to draw him into their faction by inducing him to believe that everything will be done with a view to the greater glory of Pius IX. In a word, the plan of Mazzini is as follows: to avail himself of the present excitement, turning it to account on behalf of Young Italy, which repudiates monarchy, under whatsoever form, and to effect this by raising the cry of 'Viva!' for the Duke of Tuscany, for Charles Albert, and for Pius IX."

A letter of Mazzini's, written in 1847, had taught Young Italy that their best policy was to inflame the popular hatred of Austria, then provoke Austria to attack them, and in the heat of war accomplish the rest. The plan nearly succeeded. Alarmed at the aspect of affairs in Central Italy in the summer of 1847, Austria marched a body of troops into the papal territory. The treaty of 1815 gave her the right to place a garrison in the citadel of Ferrara. She claimed a further privilege and took military possession of the whole town. Against this usurpation the Sovereign Pontiff protested in the most energetic terms, and after a diplomatic contest of sev-

eral months' duration the Austrians were forced to retire. But the occasion which the secret societies desired had been given. A cry for war and independence resounded from the Gulf of Genoa to the Bay of Naples. Loud clamors were raised in Rome for the reorganization and strengthening of the army. An imperative demand was made in the form of a somewhat threatening address to the Consulta of State for the immediate calling out of the Civic Guard in every part of the country. And it became evident that the Civic Guard could not be trusted to obey the Pope's orders.

While the conspiracy was thus hurrying to a crisis it was remarkable that the devotion of an immense majority of the people to the person of the Sovereign Pontiff remained unimpaired. If seditious cries interrupted the shouts of applause, it must nevertheless be admitted that they did not mix well, and that the rebellious demonstrations were more or less forced and theatrical. When the tendency of the popular meetings became apparent the Pope took pains to discourage festivities proposed in his honor, and at the slightest intimation of his wish they were cheerfully abandoned. Even the cry for independence—stimulated alike by the insolence of Austria and the enthusiasm of Gioberti—though it was loud and wide-spread, was by no means general. Count Rossi was an Italian, an earnest Liberal, and a shrewd observer, and he was using his great influence to hasten the Pope's reforms and to extend their scope; but, although his

sympathies were all with the party of unity, he looked upon an Italian "people" in 1847 as little more than a phantom of the imagination. "It is a war of independence which you would invoke," said he. "Be it so; let us calculate your forces. You have 60,000 regular troops in Piedmont, and not a man more. You speak of the enthusiasm of the Italian populations; I know them. Traverse them from end to end; see if a heart beats, if a man moves, if an arm is raised to commence the fight. The Piedmontese once beaten, the Austrians may go from Reggio to Calabria without meeting a single Italian."

I know of nothing finer in the history of revolutions than the attitude of Pius IX. in these days of excitement and danger. Generous, affectionate, and patriotic, neither threats, nor remonstrances, nor ingratitude, nor personal peril could turn him from the course which he believed to be best for his subjects and best for Italy. The French Government informed him privately that it had placed 5.000 troops at his disposal to secure the tranquillity of the Pontifical States, and they were ready to embark whenever he should give the word. But he would not have them. He had trusted himself to his people, and he would trust them to the end. He granted the demand for a reorganization of the army. He appointed the Piedmontese General Durando to the chief command. By a special proclamation he committed the defence of his person and of the Sacred College, the protection of life

and property, and the preservation of order to the Civic Guard. By a new *motu proprio* he made the Council of Ministers more popular. The cabinet underwent many changes. Gizzi was succeeded by the Pope's relative, Cardinal Ferretti; Ferretti gave place to Cardinal Bofondi; Bofondi was followed by Cardinal Antonelli; and every change was regarded as an advance towards constitutionalism. Laymen were appointed to the highest offices in the administration, all the ministerial posts being thrown open to them except the Secretaryship of State, which is quite as much concerned with ecclesiastical as with secular affairs. The Antonelli cabinet included Galletti, Minghetti, Farini, and Prince Aldobrandini, all laymen and all leaders in the popular party. A layman of the popular party was also placed at the head of the police. But when the rights of the Church, the principles of justice, the sanctity of laws were attacked, the Pope was as firm as adamant and as fearless as a lion.

When the Consulta of State came together with great pomp and rejoicing in the midst of a general excitement, he said frankly in his address at the opening of the session: "He would be gravely mistaken who should see in this Council I have created the realization of his own Utopias, or the germ of an institution incompatible with the pontifical sovereignty." Still earlier, in what may be called the noontide of his popularity, he announced by proclamation that he should pursue the course

of political reform only "so far as was consistent with the temporal sovereignty and that independence in the exercise of the primacy for which God willed that the Holy See should have a temporal principality." And when he published the "fundamental statute" in 1848 he said plainly that this was the limit of his concessions: "I have done all I can. I shall do no more." Those who professed to be shocked by the claims of the encyclical and Syllabus of 1864 strangely forgot that Pius IX. preached the same politics as long ago as 1846, and never preached any other.

CHAPTER VIII.

REVOLUTION.

WE know only imperfectly the hidden springs of action of that year of revolutions, 1848; but suddenly, as if by concert, the insurrection flashed up almost simultaneously all over the Continent. Naples was in revolt. Venice rose under the inspiration of the patriot Manin. The Milanese flew to arms. Louis Philippe fled for his life. The Republic was proclaimed at Paris. There were barricades at Berlin. There was fighting at Vienna. The Italian cities were intensely agitated, and Rome was the most feverish of all. The municipality waited on the Pope and demanded a constitution after the example of Naples and Tuscany. But already the Holy Father had determined to grant one, and a commission had been for some time engaged in its preparation. The constitution, or *statuto fondamentale*, was promulgated on the 14th of March, 1848. It provided for a Senate, composed of the College of Cardinals, and a legislative body consisting of a High Council nominated by the Pope, and a House of Deputies elected by the people. The ratio of rep-

resentation was to be one to 30,000. The elective franchise was based on taxation. The imposition of taxes and the voting of the budget, with the exception of an annual allowance of 600,000 crowns for the maintenance of the Pontiff and the papal court, the diplomatic service, etc., was left to the Deputies. Even in publishing this constitution, however, Pius declared that the pontifical authority over matters essentially belonging to the Catholic religion and its rule of morals would not be surrendered; and, moreover, the Deputies were forbidden to interfere with ecclesiastical or mixed affairs. All laws required the sanction of the Pope, which was to be given or withheld in secret consistory.

The "party of action" soon began to deride this constitution as a delusion, but most of the people received it at first with delight; and in the exuberance of their joy the Mazzinians made a fresh attack upon the Jesuits and mobbed the Gesù. It was perhaps the highest possible honor to the illustrious Society of Jesus that the extreme radicals always pursued them with relentless animosity. The Pope tried in vain to protect them. It became evident that their continued presence in Rome would be a constant cause of disorder; and, unwilling to be the occasion of bloodshed, they closed their establishment, some of the fathers taking flight, others finding shelter in private houses.

Meanwhile, Young Italy found a leader in the King of Sardinia, and the war of independence

broke out amid the acclamations of the peninsula. No sooner had the insurrection declared itself at Milan and Venice than Charles Albert, with a well-appointed army, crossed the Piedmontese frontier to co-operate with the patriots in the expulsion of the Austrians. Volunteers from all the Italian States hurried into Lombardy. The people threw themselves into the movement without waiting for their governments. The Pope was urged to declare war against the German intruder. He refused. The common father of the faithful must be at peace with all the world. But to defend his frontier he sent Gen. Durando, with 17,000 men, to guard the line of the Po, strictly commanding him not to cross the boundary. The course of the Pope at this juncture has been the subject of unreasonable criticism. He has been accused by one party of weakness in yielding too much, by another of vacillation in retracting his first concessions. Both are wrong. His policy was clear and consistent from the first. There is no doubt that he was always an ardent friend of Italian independence; but he wished to obtain it peaceably, remembering, above all, that the bark of Peter is not a man-of-war. His sympathies could not tempt him from his duty. In the latter part of his life, recalling some of the events of this period, he related a conversation with one of the radical ministers who waited on him at the Quirinal to urge a declaration of war: "He was a republican, who played the part of a tribune of the people, but he came into my cabinet

timid and cringing, and said in a low voice that disturbances had been occasioned by one of my allocutions, in which I notified to all the powers my refusal to join in the war against Austria. To which I replied, 'The Vicar of Christ ought to be at peace with all.'

"'But, Holy Father,' replied this man, 'you expose yourself to great misfortunes.'

"'I will bear them. Whatever they may be, I will do nothing contrary to honor, contrary to justice, contrary to conscience, contrary to religion.'"

While he totally rejected the Mazzinian conception of a unitary Italian republic, he was, nevertheless, a warm partisan of Italian unity, as well as of Italian independence. We have seen that, in conversation with Count Rossi in 1846, he pronounced the plan of a confederation then talked about as chimerical. But he himself was the foremost supporter of another scheme of union, based upon a league of constitutional states, and somewhat resembling in certain features the ideal of Gioberti. He proposed that a diet of deputies from the Italian powers should assemble at Rome, primarily to arrange a customs union, but with the further view of a closer and a more general association of interests. Several of the States gave their assent, and Pius despatched Monsignor Corboli Bussi to procure the adhesion of Charles Albert. But the project was defeated by the ambition of Piedmont, which aimed at a union under the crown of Savoy,

and the intrigues of the Mazzinians and Carbonari, who only desired a democracy.

The movement of a defensive army to the frontier was merely an ordinary and proper measure of precaution, but it suited the purpose of the clubs to acclaim it as an act of war. A great public meeting was held in the Colosseum to ratify the new "crusade," and there the Barnabite monk Gavazzi, masquerading in the character of a new Peter the Hermit, and brandishing a tricolored cross, roused the fanaticism of the multitude with his fiery speech, and conjured them to swear by the symbol of their faith to march against the "barbarians," and return no more until the last of the hated race had been chased out of Italy. A clamorous mob rushed to the Quirinal, and insisted that the Pope should bless their banners. Five of the people were admitted. "My sons," said the Pontiff, "do you know where you are going?"

"Where our chiefs lead us, Holy Father."

"That is very well; but perhaps it is better that you should learn your destination from me. Know, then, that you are only to defend the frontiers of our States. Take care not to cross them; for in doing so you will not only violate my orders but lay upon the pontifical troops the responsibility of an act of aggression which they must in no case assume. Go, then, but no further than the frontier." And blessing the papal standard which one of them held in his hands, he thus dismissed them.

The language of this address was highly distaste-

ful to the popular leaders. It was not repeated to the crowd. Only a report was spread abroad that the Holy Father had blessed the expedition; and so the army began its march. There were 7,000 regular troops and 10,000 motley volunteers—the flower of the nobility and the dregs of the wine-shop; the most gallant youth of Rome and the scum of all the political clubs of the Continent. They hurried through the Romagna, gutting taverns and hunting Jesuits by the way; one day exchanging cheers and embraces with the people of the towns through which they passed, the next day committing excesses which covered their cause with dishonor and turned the public sentiment against them. Our volunteer bands, says Emilio Dandolo, were "composed of wrangling disputants, of lawyers, of popular tribunes with innumerable shades of political opinions, with inconsiderate hopes, instability of ideas, and proneness to suspicion." At their head marched Gavazzi, with the title of chaplain-general. On reaching Bologna Gen. Durando published, April 5, an extraordinary order of the day, declaring that the Austrians made war upon the Lord, and that the soldiers of the Pope, going into battle under the emblem of the cross, would conquer with the sacred cry, "God wills it!" Then he formally placed his army at the disposal of the Sardinian king. It was afterwards discovered that this flagrant disobedience of the Pope's commands was in accordance with secret instructions from Aldobrandini, the papal

Minister of War! It was impossible for the Holy Father to remain silent under such an outrage. He repudiated Durando's order of the day in the official press, and he spoke more fully in the allocution of April 29:

"Seeing that some desire that we, too, along with the other princes of Italy and their subjects, should engage in war against the Austrians, we have thought it convenient to proclaim clearly and openly in this our solemn assembly that such a measure is altogether alien from our counsels, inasmuch as we, albeit unworthy, are the vicegerent upon earth of Him who is the author of peace and the lover of charity; and, conformably to the function of our supreme apostolate, we embrace all kindreds, peoples, and nations with equal solicitude of paternal love. But if, notwithstanding, there are not wanting among our subjects those who allow themselves to be carried away by the example of the rest of the Italians, in what manner can we possibly curb their ardor?

"And in this place we cannot refrain from repudiating, before the face of all nations, the treacherous advice, published in journals and in various works, of those who would have the Roman Pontiff to be the head and president of some sort of novel republic of the whole Italian people. . . . In grievous error are those involved who imagine that our mind can be seduced by the alluring grandeur of a more extended temporal sway to plunge the country into the midst of war and its tumults."

This declaration came none too soon. For some time the radical faction in the ministry had been in the habit of counterfeiting the sovereign's assent to measures of which he disapproved. If the army was to make war against his will his reign

was at an end. The allocution was followed at Rome by a general explosion of wrath. The cry of "Treason!" rang through the streets. Sterbini and Ciceruacchio harangued the clubs. The more violent proposed to kill the priests. The mob attacked the post-office with the purpose of seizing the letters and searching them for evidence of treachery. The Civic Guards flew to arms, fraternized with the people, defied the Pope's orders, and posted soldiers at the doors of the cardinals. A proclamation of the Holy Father's, counselling peace, was torn down with every mark of insult. The ministry resigned, and, after some days' delay, was replaced by a more radical cabinet, at the head of which was Count Mamiani, one of the exiles of 1831, who had returned to Rome after the amnesty proclaimed by Pius, but had always refused to sign the promise of loyalty demanded of those who accepted this act of grace. Galletti remained in the new administration as Minister of Police. As a matter of course, Mamiani insisted upon a declaration of war against Austria; but upon this point he found the Pontiff immovable. On the 3d of May Pius addressed the following autograph letter to the Emperor of Austria:

"Your Majesty:

"It has always been customary that words of peace should go forth from this Holy See amidst the wars that have bathed Christendom in blood; and hence, in the allocution of April 29, while we declared that our paternal heart shrank from declaring war, we expressed in

the strongest manner our ardent desire to contribute towards peace. Let it not, then, be distasteful to your majesty that we now appeal to your filial and religious sentiments, and with the affection of a father exhort you to withdraw from a contest which can never subdue to your empire the hearts of the Lombards and Venetians, but must entail the dread series of calamities that attend on war, and from which your majesty's soul must recoil.

"Nor must the generous German nation take it ill if we urge them to lay aside resentment, and exchange for friendly relations of neighborly intercourse a domination which could never be useful or honorable while sustained only by the sword.

"Let not your nation, therefore, justly proud of its own nationality, imagine that honor impels it to a bloody contest with the Italian nation; but rather let it generously acknowledge Italy as a sister, even as both are daughters to us and dear to our heart; so that each may confine herself to her natural limits, upon honorable terms and with God's blessing.

"In the meantime we pray the Giver of all Light and the Author of all Good to inspire your majesty with holy counsel, and from our inmost heart we extend to you, to her majesty the empress, and to the imperial family the apostolic benediction."

To press upon the emperor the representations of this beautiful and touching letter, so full of the spirit of justice, patriotism, and enlightenment, Pius sent Monsignor (now Cardinal) Morichini to Vienna. The mission was so far successful that Austria requested the British Government "to mediate between herself and Italy on the basis of the independence of Lombardy and the duchies, upon

condition of an annual payment of 10,000,000 florins as their proportion of the national debt of Austria, an annual tribute of 4,000,000 florins, and the concession to Venetia of a separate administration with an army of her own under the sway of an Austrian archduke." * But this proposal was concealed from the Piedmontese king until after it had been rejected; and Lord Palmerston, who was all this while playing into the hands of the Mazzinian party, declined to accept the commission on any other condition than the absolute independence of certain Venetian provinces.

Meanwhile the agitation increased at Rome, fomented by fresh outbreaks at Paris, Vienna, and Naples, and by bad news from the army, where the Roman volunteers, routed in battle, revenged themselves by accusing their generals of "treason," and literally tearing to pieces some obnoxious police officials who fell into their hands. When the Roman Parliament opened, in June, Count Mamiani prepared a warlike "programme" of the pontifical policy, in which, assuming to speak in the name of His Holiness, he declared that the Pope "dispenses the Word of God, prays, blesses, and pardons." "Ay," added Pius, in replying some time afterwards to an official address, "but it is also his office to bind and loose. Priest as well as prince, he needs all the liberty that will prevent his action from being paralyzed." The opposition between

* Mr. Legge gives these particulars on the authority of Mazzini.

the nominal sovereign and his ministers was an open scandal, and as Austria gained headway it became more and more violent. Galletti in the cabinet, Sterbini and the Prince of Canino in the Parliament, were the most furious of the demagogues. In July the Austrians invaded the Pontifical States again, and for a second time took possession of Ferrara. Pius protested with indignation, invoked the protection of the European powers, and prepared to expel the intruders by force. But the clubs welcomed this fresh cause of popular exasperation. The mob demanded arms. The city gates and the Castle of S. Angelo were attacked. Sterbini and Galletti made fiery harangues, declaring that "the people could not commit excess." A little later a courier, breathless and dusty, rode through the Corso announcing a great victory of Charles Albert over the Austrians. The houses were illuminated; there was talk of forcing the clergy to chant *Te Deum* in the churches. But the next day it was discovered that the messenger who entered Rome as if from Lombardy by the Porta del Popolo had left the city only an hour before by the Porta Angelica, carefully gathering the stains of travel in an easy ride along the walls, and had been paid three dollars for the performance. Charles Albert had been signally defeated; the war was nearing the end. In Rome now the ministry was out of office. In Bologna, where Gavazzi preached the red democracy, anarchy was accompanied by sickening

excesses. "For two days," says Farini, "the brigands had been slaughtering every man his enemy among the Government officers, some of them, indeed, disreputable and sorry fellows, others respectable. They hunted men down like wild beasts; entered their houses, and dragged them forth to slaughter. One Bianchi, an inspector of police, was lying a-bed in the last agony of consumption; they came in, set upon him, and cut his throat in the presence of his wife and children. The corpses—a frightful spectacle—remained in the public streets. I saw it—saw death dealt about, and the abominable chase."

The Pope now prevailed upon Count Rossi to become his minister. Rossi was an Italian by birth, a Liberal, an old conspirator, an old political exile; but he was an able, upright, and fearless man, and had been one of the Holy Father's most intimate advisers ever since the beginning of the reign. A Frenchman by adoption, he had come to Rome in the time of Gregory XVI., charged by Louis Philippe to negotiate for the removal of the Jesuits from France. He remained there as French ambassador till the downfall of the monarchy, and had since lived in Rome as a private citizen. The restoration of public order and the renewal of negotiations for the creation of an Italian confederacy were the tasks to which the Pope and the minister now applied themselves. Both objects were equally hateful to the clubs and the demagogues who had now obtained the control of the state. "The war

of the kings is over," cried Mazzini; "the war of the peoples must now begin." Sterbini attacked the minister furiously in his journal, the *Contemporaneo:* "Amidst the laughter and contempt of the people he will fall." The 15th of November, two months after Rossi's accession to power, was the day fixed for the opening of the Parliament. He received more than one warning that the same day had been appointed for his death. The wife of the Minister of War wrote him that his life was to be attempted as he entered the Parliament house. A Frenchman sent him a note to the same effect. A priest stopped him at the Quirinal and repeated the warning. The Pope had also heard rumors of the plans of the conspirators, and begged Rossi to beware. "They are cowards," replied the count; "they will not dare to strike." But he took the precaution to post a special guard of carbineers near the Cancellaria, where the Parliament held its sessions, little thinking that the soldiers themselves had been corrupted. "The cause of the Pope," he said to one of his colleagues, "is the cause of God. I must go where my duty calls me."

On the night before the 15th a corpse was taken from one of the public hospitals and carried secretly to the little Capranica theatre. There a secret band of conspirators rehearsed the assassination, and the chosen instrument of the vengeance of the secret societies, a young sculptor named Santo Costantini, learned by repeated trials where to strike. They were waiting for the count next

morning at the entrance to the Cancellaria. When he stepped from his carriage to cross the court fierce countenances scowled upon him; hisses and angry cries assailed him. He only smiled contemptuously, and marched on. As he reached the staircase they gathered round him. One struck him on the side. He turned his head, and Costantini plunged a dagger into the carotid artery. The count fell, covered with blood. Borne by one of his colleagues to the apartments of Cardinal Guzzoli hard by, he lived just long enough to receive absolution from a priest who was fetched in haste from a neighboring church, and so died without a word. The assassin and his accomplices walked away unmolested, the mob and the soldiers covering their leisurely retreat. "I have still before my eyes," says Farini, "the livid countenance of one who, as he saw me, shouted, 'So fare the betrayers of the people!'" All night they promenaded the city with songs of triumph. The streets were hung with flags. The bloody dagger, decked with flowers, was carried as a trophy on the top of a tricolored standard, and held up before the windows of the weeping family of the victim. When the news of the murder committed on the stairs was carried into the Chamber of Deputies, Sterbini exclaimed: "It is nothing; let us to business." Righetti, the deputy Minister of Finance, who witnessed the assassination, hastened to the Pope. After the first moment of agitation Pius fell upon his knees and remained some time in silent prayer.

"Count Rossi has died a martyr," said he; "God will receive his soul in peace."

The next day the populace and the soldiers assembled together in the public squares; Sterbini and the Prince of Canino organized themselves into a "provisional government"; the diplomatic corps gathered about the Pontiff at the Quirinal; and there, soon after noon, appeared a threatening mob to demand the surrender of all power into the hands of a ministry of the most extreme democrats headed by Sterbini, the convocation of a constituent assembly, and the immediate declaration of war against Austria. It was the forsworn Galletti who entered the palace to announce the popular will. The Pope would not listen; but he empowered Galletti to form a cabinet. This was not enough. The crowd set fire to the palace. A single volley from the Swiss Guard, of whom there were about a hundred on duty, drove back the incendiaries, and the flames were extinguished. But the insurrection was fast spreading. The people seized arms and hurried to the assault. Sharp-shooters occupied the housetops, sheltered themselves behind the famous equestrian groups in the centre of the square, and poured a shower of balls into the palace windows. Monsignor Palma, one of the papal secretaries, was killed. Bullets penetrated to the Pope's chamber. The Civic Guard and the carbineers reinforced the mob. Cannon were brought up and pointed at the gates. A deputation from the assailants announced their ultimatum; they would give

His Holiness one hour to consider, at the end of which time, if their demands were not granted, they would assuredly "break into the Quirinal and put to death every inmate thereof, with the single exception of the Pope himself." Further resistance was impossible. The Holy Father called the diplomatic corps together and told them that he must yield: "But let Europe know that I am a prisoner here. I have no part in the government; they shall rule in their own name, not in mine."

CHAPTER IX.

FLIGHT AND EXILE.

SURROUNDED by spies and sentries, the Pope was in truth a prisoner. "His authority is now absolutely null," wrote the Duke d'Harcourt, French ambassador, "and none of his acts will be free and voluntary." The Circolo Popolare, the most radical of the clubs, was the real government of Rome. For some time the Holy Father had considered the advisability of flight, and he appears to have almost determined upon seeking refuge in France. Spain had offered him an asylum; and a safe retreat was likewise open to him in the kingdom of Naples. But escape was not easy. He was closely watched, and guards even invaded his private apartments. On the 22d of November, six days after the attack upon the Quirinal, he received from the Bishop of Valence, in France, a silver pyx in which Pope Pius VI. used to carry the Blessed Sacrament suspended from his neck during his painful exile. "Heir to the name, the see, the virtues, the courage, and many of the tribulations of this great pontiff," wrote the bishop, "you will, perhaps, attach some value to this inte-

resting little relic, which I trust may not serve the same destiny in your Holiness's hands as in those o its former possessor." The Pope looked upon this as a providential provision for his journey, and hesitated no longer.

It was the Duke d'Harcourt who undertook the delicate task of managing the escape from the Quirinal, while the Bavarian minister, Count Spaur, aided by his quick-witted wife, arranged the rest of the journey. The whole adventure seems to have been in great measure of the countess's designing, and our knowledge of the incidents is mainly derived from her interesting published narrative. The Pope's faithful gentleman-in-waiting, Filippani, collected the little articles absolutely needed on the route, and at night carried them under his cloak, one by one, to the residence of Count Spaur. Meanwhile, it was announced in Rome that the count, accompanied by his family, was going to Naples on a diplomatic errand. The countess started first in her travelling carriage with her son and his tutor, Father Liebl, giving out that her husband, detained a few hours in Rome by important business, would overtake her at Albano. Towards evening on the same day (November 24, 1848) the Duke d'Harcourt visited the Quirinal in state, and, being admitted to a private official interview with the Holy Father, began to read to him a series of long despatches. He read in a loud tone, so that his voice could be heard by the guards in the anteroom. If they could have seen what passed as

well as they heard, they would have been very much astonished. For no sooner had the duke begun than the Pope retired to an inner chamber and transformed himself into a simple priest. He put on a black robe, an ample cloak, and a low, round hat, and, accompanied by Filippani, he reached the grand staircase by a private door. Twice he narrowly escaped detection. The private door, generally left open, was found to be locked, and there was a long delay while Filippani searched for the key. As they went out a servant who was in the secret involuntarily knelt to beg the Pope's blessing, but Filippani's whispered reproof brought him to his feet again before the guard noticed him. There was a hack in waiting, and, exchanging salutations with the unsuspecting soldiers, the fugitives drove to the church of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, beyond the Colosseum, where Count Spaur was waiting with another carriage. The Pope entered it; the count took the reins; they passed out by the gate of St. John, near the Lateran, the sentries being satisfied with the count's passport; and then they sped the horses along the Appian Way.

In the meantime the Duke d'Harcourt continued for two hours his imaginary discussion in the Holy Father's cabinet. The private chaplain came at the accustomed hour, as if to read the breviary with His Holiness; papers were brought in as usual; supper was served; and at last it was announced to the guard that the Pope had retired for the night. Then the duke took horses in all haste for

Civita Vecchia, where a French frigate was in readiness to receive him. The first intelligence of the Pope's flight was conveyed to the Romans by a letter received next morning by the Marquis Sacchetti from the Pope himself.

The Countess Spaur, not knowing at what hour to expect the Pope, had been waiting on the road all day in an agony of apprehension. Late in the night word was brought to her that the count was at a certain fountain on the Appian Way. When she drove up she was terrified at finding herself in the midst of an armed patrol. Count Spaur was answering the questions of the soldiers, and the Pope and a trooper stood side by side against the fence. The countess did not lose her presence of mind. "Come, doctor," she exclaimed, "jump in; you have kept us waiting." One of the soldiers opened the carriage-door and helped the supposed doctor to mount; and, bidding good-night to the patrol, the party drove off at full speed towards the territory of Naples. The Pope was the first to speak. "Courage!" said he; "I carry the Blessed Sacrament in the same pyx in which it was borne by Pius VI." At Velletri the carriage-lamps were lighted, and the Pope and Father Liebl recited the *itinerarium*, or prayers for a journey. The Holy Father refreshed himself with part of an orange. In crossing the Pontine Marshes they all got a little sleep. At Fondi a postilion cried to one of his fellows: "Look at that priest; he is just like the picture of the Pope we have at home." They

crossed the Neapolitan frontier at daylight, and as soon as they were safe beyond the Pontifical States they all recited the *Te Deum.*

In the afternoon they reached Gaeta, and were joined by Cardinal Antonelli, disguised like the Pope. Count Spaur now resigned the care of the Holy Father to the secretary of the Spanish embassy, and, exchanging carriages with this gentleman, posted on to Naples, bearing an autograph letter from the Pope to the king. It was midnight when he presented himself at the royal palace, and, representing the urgency of his mission, obtained with some difficulty an immediate audience. King Ferdinand read with visible emotion the few lines in which the Sovereign Pontiff announced his arrival and asked a brief hospitality. "Come back at daylight, count," said the king, "and you shall have my answer." At six, accordingly, Count Spaur returned. Two frigates were in readiness in the harbor. A large body of troops were already embarked. The king, the queen, the whole royal family were in readiness to sail with them to meet the august exile. A great store of everything necessary for the comfort and dignity of His Holiness had been placed on board, and Ferdinand had given close personal attention to all the preparations. "Come, count," said he, "we will go together."

But during this interval the strange little party at Gaeta had been in trouble. Changing carriages with the Spanish secretary, the count had also care-

lessly changed passports, and when the Spaniard went to call, according to the regulations of the fortress, upon the commandant, Gen. Gross, that gallant officer, who was a Swiss, addressed him in German, and the secretary could not answer. The travellers were at once placed under polite surveillance as suspicious characters. They presented themselves first at the bishop's palace, but the bishop was absent, and his servants would not admit them, notwithstanding the persistent requests of the Pope and the cardinal. Then they took lodgings at a poor inn, and it was in this humble shelter that Pius IX. wrote his first public protest against the violence which had driven him from his dominions, naming in the same document a commission to carry on the government during his absence, though with no great expectation that it would be allowed to act. The frigate conveying the French ambassador arrived the next morning, and the king and queen landed a few hours after, to the unspeakable amazement of the commandant, who had no suspicion of the character of the visitors he had been watching.

It had been the purpose of His Holiness to take a Spanish man-of-war at Gaeta, and seek refuge in the island of Majorca, the scene of his short imprisonment in 1823; but Ferdinand persuaded him to remain at Gaeta. The first meeting between his Majesty and the Sovereign Pontiff took place at the palace, whither Pius proceeded quietly on foot, still in his humble black cassock and broad hat. The

king and queen received him on their knees at the foot of the stairs, and lavished upon him every mark of honor that it was in their power to bestow. The palace was set apart for his use, the royal family removing to a pavilion not far distant, whence the king paid a daily visit to the Holy Father. Fitting accommodations were prepared for the cardinals and prelates who by various routes soon began to find their way to Gaeta. The diplomatic body gathered around the improvised papal court, and naval vessels of nearly all the Christian powers, including the United States, cast anchor in the roadstead. As an illustration of the respect shown to the Pontiff at Gaeta, Father Bresciani describes a papal visit to the United States frigate *Princeton*, the king and the king's brother following the Pope bareheaded in a hot mid day sun from the palace to the port, walking deferentially behind him, refusing a seat by his side in the stern of the barge, and taking a respectful position forward, while as their boat passed all the fleet manned the yards, spread colors to the breeze, and thundered broadsides.

The reverence and affection of the whole Catholic world for the person of Pius IX. seemed to be stimulated to an extraordinary degree by his misfortunes. "Letters were despatched to the glorious exile," says Father Bresciani, "from the most remote corners of the earth—from the islands of Oceanica, but yesterday, as it were, converted to Christianity; from the Marquesas, the abode of cannibals; and from Australia and New Caledonia—to comfort

the Pontiff in his afflictions, to exalt him in his humiliations, to honor him in the insults and opprobrium heaped upon him by his barbarous and cowardly subjects in Rome. China, Tartary, the Indies, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Lebanon, Moldavia, Servia, Egypt, Algeria, the States of America from Canada to Chili, Europe from the extremity of Norway to Cadiz and Lisbon—all, in every language of the world, praised and glorified the invincible Pontiff, pouring forth the veneration and love of their hearts." The sovereigns, both Catholic and non-Catholic, wrote letters of condolence. The people organized associations to raise funds for the Pope's support. On his part, Pius invoked the interposition of the Catholic powers in general; and when the men who had driven him out of Rome sent urging him to come back—on their terms, not on his—he refused to see the deputation, holding then, as he did to the end of his life, that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope was necessary to the freedom and independence of the Church, and that he could not negotiate for its surrender.

Spiritual concerns were dearer to him than ever in this time of trouble. It was at Gaeta, in February, 1849, that he declared by an encyclical letter his intention to define the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and instructed the bishops to inform him of the feelings and opinions of the whole people with respect to it. From his exile also he urged the bishops of Italy to fresh zeal in combating the errors of the time by the education of

the young, by preaching boldly and constantly the sound principles which lie at the basis of Christian society, by attacking prevalent vices, and showing that the Catholic faith is the true safeguard of national prosperity and private virtue. To counteract the abuses of a licentious press he exhorted them to cultivate a pure and wholesome literature and to publish approved translations of the Holy Scriptures. And he repeated with especial earnestness the recommendations of his first encyclical touching the training of the clergy and the discipline of monastic establishments.

While the banished Pope was thus winning the respect of the world the miseries of his capital were almost beyond description. The rule of the clubs was hardly disguised by the merely nominal authority of ministries and parliamentary chambers, which one by one disappeared and left the control of affairs in the hands of a Committee of Public Safety. A Constituent Assembly met on the 7th of February, 1849, and decreed the deposition of the Popedom as a temporal government, and the establishment of "a pure democracy" under "the glorious appellation of the Republic of Rome." With thousands of other republicans and members of the revolutionary clubs from different parts of the Continent, Mazzini hastened to Rome to direct the insurrection which he had been so long preparing. An executive triumvirate was named, consisting of Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi; but the second and third of these men counted for little, and

Mazzini shared a virtual dictatorship with the military leaders, Garibaldi and Avezzana. The catalogue of outrages committed under this democratic despotism, both in Rome and the provinces, is almost too black for belief. "Every governor acted as he liked," says Felice Orsini, "and some of the Liberals took what they considered justice into their own hands and committed deplorable homicides." The murder of an Irish priest at last caused the British Government to interfere, whereupon Mazzini sent Orsini into the Marches to put a stop to the massacres. "A society of assassins afflict Ancona and Sinigaglia," wrote this commissioner, "spreading desolation and misery over the provinces." A secret league called the Infernal Association took upon itself the function of executing the vengeance of the societies. A wretch named Zambianchi, leader of a band of three hundred bravos who had been employed in the revenue service of the frontier, became the terror of the provinces, boasting of the most hideous crimes, and accounting it ample justification of a murder that the victim was a priest. He stationed himself near the Neapolitan boundary, and sent back to Rome all ecclesiastics whom he caught on the road to Gaeta; but displeased that his prisoners were not immediately put to death, he soon marched into the capital to take the matter into his own hands. The Convent of S. Calisto, in the Trastevere, became a slaughter-house where he penned up priests and killed them at his leisure. How many suffered in this way can

never be known. When the triumvirate sent to stop the murders the bodies of fourteen ecclesiastics were found half buried in a garden, and twelve prisoners were rescued alive in spite of the resistance of the butchers. Two men clad as vine-dressers were arrested one day as Jesuits in disguise, and the guards were taking them to prison when a mob attacked them on the bridge of S. Angelo and put them to a horrible death. The pillage of private houses and the wanton destruction of public monuments were among the lesser outrages of this reign of anarchy. And the official proceedings of the Government matched the lawless violence of the populace. Ecclesiastical property was seized, convents were suppressed. The confessionals were taken to make barricades. A forced loan was levied upon all persons whose income exceeded two thousand crowns, graduated so that no one paid less than a quarter of his income, and the rich were taxed as much as two-thirds. Silver plate was seized, and domiciliary visits were made in search of it. The shrines and altars were stripped bare. The palaces of the cardinals were sacked. Profane rites were celebrated in St. Peter's at Easter under the auspices of the Government, and a suspended priest gave a travesty of the papal benediction from the balcony. The canons of St. Peter's were fined for refusing to participate in such sacrilegious proceedings, and the provost of the cathedral of Sinigaglia was put to death for declining to hail the republic by a *Te Deum.*

CHAPTER X.

THE RESTORATION.

WHEN the news of the flight to Gaeta reached Paris the government of Gen. Cavaignac was within ten days of its close, and the Roman question became a foremost issue in the approaching election. Cavaignac immediately sent an envoy to Gaeta, and ordered a brigade of troops to be got ready "to intervene in the name of the French Republic for the restoration of the Pontiff's personal liberty, in case he should have been deprived of it." In acknowledging this action the Holy Father expressed his gratitude for the attachment shown him by the French nation, and intimated a purpose of seeking hospitality at no distant day on French soil. The correspondence was published by Cavaignac's supporters as a bid for his re-election. But Louis Napoleon bid a little higher. He was suddenly and opportunely afflicted by the conduct of his cousin, the Prince of Canino, with whom for a long while he had held no intercourse, and he wrote a note to the papal nuncio, lamenting that the eldest son of Lucien Bonaparte

"could not see that the temporal sovereignty of the venerable Head of the Church was intimately connected with the glory of Catholicism and the liberty and independence of Italy." The last line might be understood in different ways, but the note served its purpose. Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic by an immense majority. There was no question that the restoration of the Pope would be speedily undertaken by foreign arms; for while the Catholic powers were determined to defend the rights of the Church, the czar and the king of Prussia were convinced that the overthrow of the Mazzinian Republic was necessary to the order of Europe. It only remained to decide which should make the first move. Spain, during the month of December, addressed a note to France, Austria, Bavaria, Sardinia, Tuscany, and Naples, inviting them to consider the best means to re-establish the authority of the Pope, and hence originated a diplomatic conference at Gaeta, in which the proposed intervention was fully discussed. It was France who took the lead, anticipating the action with which the other powers were quite ready to charge themselves. Nothing could have been more complete than the justification of her course subsequently presented to the French Assembly by M. Thiers, in the form of an elaborate report from a committee. He considered the case in its political as well as its religious aspects:

"In a political point of view an interposition was imperatively called for by the interests of Italy and Italian

liberty; for the Pope would have been restored without us, and that by Austria. Austria, using the unquestionable rights of war, had reconquered Lombardy, invaded Piedmont, the duchies of Parma and Modena, Tuscany, and a part of the Roman States. The governments, having met with an ill return for the concessions they had made, were not disposed to renew them; the enemies of liberal reforms found a powerful argument in the excesses which had been committed; sensible persons were discouraged, and the masses, after so much dangerous excitement, were reduced to submission by the pressure of physical force. Were no fragments of the hopes of 1847 to be saved? France did not think so, and such was the origin and the reason of her expedition to Rome. The question was whether France should suffer Austria to push her invasion as far as Rome, and thus to become both morally and materially the mistress of almost the whole of Italy.

. . . . . .

'The Catholic powers had assembled at Gaeta to plan the re-establishment of an authority which is necessary to the Christian universe. In truth, without the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff Catholic unity would be dissolved; Catholicism would be severed into sects and perish; and the moral world, already so rudely shaken, would fall into universal ruin. But Catholic unity, requiring a certain spiritual submission from Christian nations, would be inadmissible if the Pontiff, in whom it is embodied, were not perfectly independent; if, upon the territory which ages have assigned to him, and which all nations have respected, another sovereign, whether prince or people, were to rise to dictate laws to him. For the Papacy there can be no other independence but sovereignty. We have here an interest of a paramount nature which is rightly made to overrule the private interests of nations, just as, in a state, the public interest overrules what is individual; and it fully justified the

Catholic powers in re-establishing Pius IX. upon the pontifical throne."

The conference at Gaeta met on the 30th of March, and three weeks afterwards the French expedition embarked. The troops, commanded by General Oudinot, landed at Civita Vecchia, and marched hastily upon Rome under the impression that there would be no serious defence. The army of Garibaldi and Avezzana was largely composed of Lombards, Genoese, and foreigners, and the Romans were supposed to be watching for the French as deliverers. But General Oudinot underrated the revolutionary soldiers, and misunderstood the citizens. The first attack was repulsed; it was only after a siege of two months, memorable for bravery on both sides, that the victorious army entered Rome, June 30, and Colonel Niel was despatched to Gaeta to present to the Holy Father the keys of his capital. Austria had already restored the pontifical authority in the Legations. Mazzini, Garibaldi, and the other leaders of the ruined republic took flight. "Accept, General," wrote the Pope to General Oudinot, "my congratulations for the principal part which is due to you in this event—congratulations not for the blood which has been shed, for that my soul abhors, but for the triumph of order over anarchy, for liberty restored to honest and Christian persons, for whom it will not henceforth be a crime to enjoy the property which God has allotted to them, and to worship in due religious

pomp without danger to life or estate. With regard to the grave difficulties that may hereafter occur, I rely on the divine protection."

But the Holy Father did not at once resume his throne. Louis Napoleon's complex policy in these events was not in accord either with the wishes of Catholic France or the sentiments even of the French Assembly, and he was false alike to the Pope and to his own people. He was quite as anxious to further the ambition of Piedmont and encourage the aspirations of Young Italy as to thwart the influence of Austria by assuming the protection of the Holy See. During the siege he sent M. de Lesseps to Rome to negotiate with Mazzini an accommodation which General Oudinot indignantly rejected. Shortly after the capture of the city Oudinot was replaced by General Rostolan. The prince-president then wrote a letter to Colonel Edward Ney, in which, after declaring that "the French Republic had not sent an army to Rome to extinguish Italian liberty but to regulate it," he instructed this officer to inform the general that the French tricolor must not protect any act or policy inconsistent with the purposes of the intervention, and that the programme of the restoration ought to be "a general amnesty, lay administration, the Code Napoléon, and a liberal government." This was ostensibly a private letter, and the straightforward soldier, Rostolan, refused with warmth to permit its publication within his lines. It was accordingly printed at Florence, and Rostolan was speedily

relieved; whereupon the French ambassador, M. de Courcelles, resigned.

No one understood better than Pius IX. the ingrain duplicity of Louis Napoleon, and the complicity of this inveterate conspirator in the plots for the destruction of the temporal power. He rightly interpreted the letter as an infringement of his independence and an attempt to bind the Holy See in servitude to the Bonaparte ambition; and he refused to re-enter his States until he could go in the fulness of his sovereign authority. Cardinal Antonelli, henceforth until the day of his death the papal Secretary of State, commented upon the letter in a note to the governors of the provinces, remarking that it "had no official character," and was "viewed with displeasure even by the French authorities in Rome"; and adding: "The Holy Father is seriously occupying himself in giving to his subjects such reforms as he believes conducive to their true and solid good, nor has any power imposed laws upon him in reference to this. It is the interest of all the powers to sustain the liberty and independence of the Supreme Pontiff for the peace of Europe." Meanwhile the Pope appointed a commission of three cardinals to reorganize the government *ad interim*, and in September he removed to Portici, near Naples, whence he issued a *motu proprio* establishing boards for the reform of the laws and the finances, granting extensive provincial and municipal franchises, and admitting laymen to the administration. An am-

nesty was declared for all except members of the successive revolutionary governments, chiefs of military bodies, those who had benefited by the previous amnesty and had broken their parole, and those who, besides political offences, had been guilty of ordinary crimes punishable by the existing laws. For seven months the Holy Father remained at Portici; and at last, having obtained from Louis Napoleon (whose schemes were not sustained by the French Assembly) the pledges which he demanded, he began his homeward journey.

His progress from town to town was a series of triumphs. Whatever disaffection there may have been in Rome and one or two other large cities—and most of the contemporary accounts of these events are so colored by the political and religious prepossessions of the writers that they cannot be safely trusted—there is no question that the rural population was devout and loyal, and welcomed his return with unfeigned joy. In Rome the clubs and secret societies did what they could to mar the celebration. Placards were posted in the Corso threatening death to all who should welcome "the priest Mastai." Twice during the night before his arrival the Quirinal was set on fire. Nevertheless, when the cortége entered, on the 12th of April, 1850, the same gate of St. John by which the Supreme Pontiff had fled disguised and under cover of the night nearly seventeen months before, the city seemed to be wild with delight. "The

whole population of Rome," wrote the unsympathetic correspondent of the *Journal des Débats*, "fell at the feet of their Pope and received his benediction. It was one of those grand popular commotions which can never be arranged to order, which spring only from deep popular feeling." The chapter of St. John Lateran met the procession as it entered the magnificent square in front of the venerable basilica—the cathedral of the popes, the mother church of Christendom; the Pontiff descended from his carriage, and blessing the kneeling populace and soldiers, gave thanks to God before the grand altar of the church; he traversed the whole city, cheered at every step with enthusiastic *vivas* and entered St. Peter's, where the *Te Deum* was followed by the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Later in the day the Holy Father received the diplomatic corps, the cardinals, the nobility, and others, at the Vatican, and in that famous palace, surrounded by priceless treasures of art and science, he now fixed his permanent residence, the Quirinal, with its melancholy associations, being henceforth hateful to him. The demonstrations of rejoicing were prolonged for several days, with illuminations of the whole city and services in the churches, and they culminated in the proclamation of a jubilee throughout the Christian world.

CHAPTER XI.

THE TIME OF PEACE.

THE task which now fell upon Pope Pius IX. was hard and ungrateful. Despite the shouts which hailed his triumphant return, there was a bitter hatred of ecclesiastical government among the middle classes in Rome, a general corruption and demoralization of society, a decay of faith and devotional sentiment among the young. The convulsions of the revolutionary period and the secret activity of the oath-bound associations had left effects which were not to be obliterated by a battle and a procession. The restored government, owing its stability to a French army of occupation, had to undertake the restoration of political and religious order under many trying and unnatural conditions. The next few years are commonly described by unfriendly historians as years of severe reaction. This is a great mistake. Certainly the Pope made no more attempts to govern by the aid of a parliament, a radical ministry, and a democratic national guard; but he pursued the same general line of practical administrative reform which he had adopted in 1846; he ruled with characteristic

mildness; he gradually relaxed the exceptions to the amnesty, so that a large proportion of the exiles were allowed to return; he restored the shattered finances, redeeming even the worthless paper money issued by the insurgents; he revived industry and trade; he built up the declining population, so that Rome, which had 180,000 inhabitants at the time of his accession, and lost no fewer than 20,000 during the reign of the revolution, contained 220,000 before the papal government was overthrown in 1870. The French envoy, Count de Rayneval, sent an elaborate report to his Government in 1856 on the state of society in the Papal States and the character of the Holy Father's administration, which he declared to be one of the most equitable and benevolent in Europe. "Never," said he, "has a more exalted spirit of clemency been seen to preside over a restoration. No vengeance has been exercised on those who caused the overthrow of the pontifical government; no measures of rigor have been adopted against them. The Pope has contented himself with depriving them of the power of doing harm by banishing them from the land. No imprisonment, no trials even, have taken place, except occasionally in consequence of the obstinacy of certain individuals who, insisting on being tried, have been condemned, and punished by being presented with a passport. As to the flagrant conspiracies which followed the return of the Pope, it was his bounden duty to take measures against them as well as against

the subsequent assassinations. These measures were taken in the most regular manner. The Holy Father never failed to mitigate the severity of the sentences. Many of the persons most deeply compromised obtained their liberty after a certain time without the condition of exile. At the present moment it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of exiles who are forbidden to enter the Roman States for political reasons; but with respect to the authors of the revolution of 1849, it is thought that it does not amount to a hundred." * The count was at pains to dispel the common illusion that the papal rule was a government by priests. Outside of the capital the total number of ecclesiastics of all ranks employed in the administration was 98, against 5,059 laymen. In Rome itself, where some of the departments, especially in the Ministry of Justice, were occupied partly with ecclesiastical affairs, the clerical officials were 96 and the laymen 5,000. These figures did not include the Ministry of War, which had no ecclesias-

* This estimate was too low. A table published in the *Dublin Review* in 1856 gave the total number excluded from the benefit of the amnesty as 262, of whom 59 had since been pardoned, leaving 203 in banishment. There was, however, "a larger class of voluntary exiles not formally excepted from the amnesty, but who would not be allowed to enter the Papal States without special permission. The gross number is 1,273; but as of these 629 are not natives of them, the number of subjects amounts to 644. Of these, again, 152 are persons who either have had banishment inflicted as their sentence or who have asked for it as commutation of punishment; so that the number is finally reduced to 492. Many of these cannot return, because they would immediately be arrested for common crimes; the rest are admissible upon petition, if their conduct while abroad has not compromised them."

tical functionaries; on the other hand, the roll of the provincial employees of both classes was partly repeated in the statistics of the central ministerial bureaus to which they were subordinate. The proportion of laymen to ecclesiastics in Rome and all the provinces was 80 to 1.* The criminal courts and inferior civil tribunals contained no ecclesiastics.

With regard to the state of public feeling at that time, Count de Rayneval's report was not reassuring. "In the lower depths of society," said he, "Carbonarism is kept up; it continues to make recruits; the dagger here is still held in honor; the end to be obtained is the upsetting of every social hierarchy. The followers of Mazzini form already a class in some degree above these. The universal republic, the unity of Italy, constitutional government, war against Austria, is their programme. Directed by the committees of London and Geneva, their watchword for the present is quiet and inaction until the return of their chiefs by means of an amnesty, and the departure of the foreign troops, give them an opportunity of operating with a chance of success. This section extends to a certain portion of the middle class. This class, and the higher classes in general, are tormented with the desire of taking a part in public affairs. The example of Piedmont is turning their heads. Convinced that

* Another authority, of the same date, shows that the whole number of clerical functionaries in Rome and the provinces (not including prison chaplains and others whose employments were strictly ecclesiastical) was 113, while the lay functionaries were 6,853.

the presence of the Pope is an invincible obstacle to the realization of their projects, they earnestly pray for the annihilation of the pontifical power. Taxed more lightly than the majority of European countries, they complain that they are crushed under the weight of fiscal imposition. At the same time they complain of the state for not undertaking great works which it is their duty to undertake themselves. Finally, they profess to have a great fear of the Mazzinians, and at the same time are opening the door to them." Between the party of progress and the extreme conservatives was a large body of orderly citizens indifferent to everything except their own prosperity. "Anywhere else such a party would furnish the government with a good *point d'appui;* but where the only universal rule is *laisser faire*, with the reservation of the right of complaining when the thing is done instead of beforehand, how can such friends be trusted?"

Such was the condition of Rome when the Holy Father returned from exile. But for a few years an outward peace was preserved, and under the influence of institutions of religion and education and the advance in material prosperity society began to recover a more healthy tone. The interests of the universal Church received the most watchful care during this anxious time. In Austria, in some of the smaller German States, in Tuscany, in Naples, in Portugal, in South America, Pius obtained, by concordats or otherwise, the abrogation of laws that obstructed the independence of the Church.

In September, 1850, he restored the Catholic hierarchy of England, appointing Dr. Wiseman Archbishop of Westminster, with twelve suffragan sees—an act which provoked an extraordinary outbreak of English bigotry, but gave a great impulse to the progress of the faith. The episcopate was also restored to Holland. The Eastern Church was exhorted to return to Catholic unity; and the Catholics of Armenia were addressed by an encyclical letter. The Church in the United States was strengthened by the creation of the archbishoprics of New York, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and New Orleans (1850); and in 1853 Monsignor Bedini, nuncio to Brazil, was sent to this country as a special envoy, bearing an autograph letter of salutation from Pius to President Pierce—a mission which the United States representative at Rome, Mr. Cass, in his official despatch to the Secretary of State, described as "a new and additional testimonial of the highly favorable and friendly sentiments entertained by His Holiness Pius IX. towards the government and institutions of the United States." The disgraceful scenes of mob violence which disturbed the journey of this amiable and distinguished prelate, and the still more disgraceful failure of the public authorities to protect him, will long be remembered with shame by American citizens.

But the most important event of the short days of peace was the formal definition of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Vir-

gin Mary as an article of the Catholic faith. The letter to the bishops of the world, written during the banishment at Gaeta, had been answered by a multitude of addresses from all parts of Christendom, testifying the faith and desires of the people. The commission of cardinals had collected the concurrent teachings of the past ages. In July, 1854, a jubilee was proclaimed in preparation for the solemnity, and the 8th of December, feast of the Immaculate Conception, was appointed for the definition. Forty-three archbishops and ninety-two bishops gathered at Rome, with the full college of cardinals, for this memorable occasion. The bull was considered in a general meeting of the fathers; but when the question arose whether the dogma should be defined in the name of the assembled episcopate or by the sole authority of the Sovereign Pontiff, a scene occurred, which is thus described by Monsignor Audisio, who was an eye-witness of it: "It was the last session; noon had just struck; the bishops knelt to recite the *Angelus.* After they resumed their places a few words only were spoken, when suddenly an acclamation to the Holy Father broke out, a cry of eternal adhesion to the primacy of the see of St. Peter: '*Petre, doce nos; confirma fratres tuos!*—Peter, teach us; confirm thy brethren!' and the debate closed." Thus the nature of the definition, as the exercise of the Pontiff's supreme and infallible *magisterium*, was clearly demonstrated. The gathering of the bishops was in no sense an œcumenical

council, and the doctrine of the papal infallibility was distinctly asserted, with the joyful assent of the whole Catholic world. Here, then, we have the first of that series of striking manifestations of the plenitude of the teaching authority of the Pope personally which have already been referred to as a marked characteristic of the pontificate of Pius IX.

On the morning of the 8th of December the bishops in white copes and mitres assembled around the Pontiff in the Sistine Chapel, and, chanting the Litany of the Saints, proceeded in order of rank down the grand staircase of the Vatican and into St. Peter's. All knelt for a moment before the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, and then the procession moved on to the grand altar beneath the dome, where Mass was celebrated in presence of His Holiness. It was after the Gospel had been chanted, in Latin and Greek, that the dean of the Sacred College, accompanied by the senior archbishop and senior bishop present, and archbishops of the Greek and Armenian rites, advanced to the throne and besought the Vicar of Christ to pronounce the definition. It is related that when the Holy Father, after the singing of the *Veni Creator*, rose in the midst of the vast and silent multitude and read the decree, his voice trembled and broke, and his eyes filled with tears. To commemorate the solemnity he afterwards caused a column of white marble, surmounted by a bronze statue of the Virgin Immaculate, and encompassed at the base by

figures of Moses, David, Isaias, and Ezechiel, to be erected opposite the Propaganda.

The condemnation of errors in faith and philosophy into which distinguished Catholics like Gioberti and Ventura had been betrayed; protests against the violation of the rights of the Church and the freedom of conscience by secular governments; the completion and consecration of the splendid basilica of St. Paul-without-the-Walls, destroyed by fire in the days of Pius VII., and rebuilt by the care of successive popes; the restoration of the ancient church of St. Agnes *in Via Nomentana*, in remembrance of a providential escape from death at the convent of St. Agnes, in April, 1855, when the Pope and a large number of other persons were precipitated fifteen or twenty feet, amid rubbish and broken tiles, by the giving way of a floor—such were some of the labors which filled the ten years following the restoration. Education was promoted by the enlargement of the faculties of the universities, the opening of schools, and the establishment of new colleges. The Seminario Pio was founded at the Pontiff's private cost to train a chosen body of priests selected for merit from the various dioceses of Italy. The Collegio Pio (a different institution) was designed for English ecclesiastics, and especially for converts from Anglicanism. Theological schools were created and endowed for the French, for the Spanish-Americans, and later for the United States, the building which the last-named establishment occupies being the

Holy Father's gift. Charitable and industrial enterprises were multiplied. The construction of railways and telegraphs was fostered. The fine arts found in Pius IX. a generous patron, the museums a munificent benefactor; his enthusiasm inspired the antiquary; his purse defrayed the cost of excavations; his enlightened care preserved monuments of Christian and pagan antiquity, and rescued early paintings and mosaics from impending ruin. He built one of the great buttresses which saved the crumbling walls of the Colosseum, and restored some of the masonry to its original condition. He turned aside the flow of water which threatened the triumphal arches of Constantine and Septimius Severus. He completed costly explorations in the Roman Forum, and caused the recovered fragments of architecture to be placed and secured in their proper position. He uncovered the long-hidden Appian Way. He pursued with rich results the long-pending excavations of the Palace of the Cæsars. He established the Commission of Sacred Archæology, under which such magnificent work has been accomplished in the Catacombs; and he founded the Christian Museum at the Lateran, for the reception and display of the priceless relics of Christian antiquity. Many of the works I have thus hastily enumerated were still in progress at the close of his government; many were prosecuted at his expense up to the close of his life, although the kingdom of Italy had appropriated to itself

the objects upon which so much care was expended.

In May, 1857, the Pope began a tour through his States, passing by Spoleto, Loreto, Sinigaglia, and Imola to Bologna, and returning by Pisa and Volterra. At various cities on the route he received distinguished guests—the Austrian Archduke Maximilian, the Governor of Lombardy and Venice, the Duke and Duchess of Modena, the Duchess of Parma, the King of Bavaria—and at the request of the Grand Duke of Tuscany he visited Florence, where magnificent quarters were prepared for him in the Pitti Palace. He spent four months on the journey, inspecting a vast number of public institutions, and giving especial attention to the reform of the prisons, which was always an object very dear to his heart. Everywhere the people received him with the warmest marks of affection, and the legations, which had been in rebellion against his authority so short a time before, and were to be separated from his dominions so short a time afterward, were prodigal in demonstrations of loyalty. In like manner his return to Rome was made a popular festival. Those who know the unstable and excitable disposition of the Italian people will not find it hard to believe that their acclamations were sincere and their enthusiasm was genuine though fleeting.

In this stately progress Pius was no less accessible to the poor than during his walks at Rome. A sick woman threw herself in the way as he passed,

and cried: "Holy Father, I am a poor dying mother, and these two children that you see will be left destitute if I am taken. Save me! Give me back my life!"

"My poor child," said he, "I am not what you take me for. I have no power over your disease, but I have a heart to feel for you and a word of hope to console you. God is infinitely good. Perhaps you do not pray enough. Come, now; for nine days address yourself to him who is the Providence of orphans and of mothers. I will unite my prayers with yours during the same time, and I hope Heaven will hear you. Let us begin at once." The Pope and the poor woman knelt down together, and all the Holy Father's suite likewise fell on their knees. What became of the woman afterwards we are not told.

A family from New Orleans visiting Rome had with them a slave named Margaret, who, being a devout Catholic, was very anxious to stand where she could see the Pope and get his blessing. Pius heard of the woman, and the next day a papal dragoon was seen riding up and down the Via Condotti, making enquiries for "Mademoiselle Marguerite," for whom he had a letter of audience. At the appointed time the poor slave found herself waiting in the midst of a brilliant company at the Vatican. When the Pontiff was disengaged the first name called was that of "Mademoiselle Marguerite." "My child," said the Holy Father, "there are many great people waiting, but I wish

to speak to you the first. Though you are the least upon earth, you may be the greatest in the sight of God." He talked with her for twenty minutes, enquired about her condition and her fellow-slaves, and dismissed her with a blessing for herself and "all those about her." The welfare of the negroes in the Southern States of America always gave him deep concern, and special missions among them were organized with his assistance and his particular benediction. His tender heart warmed instinctively to all who were in bondage or in prison. Giving audience to an English bishop who was about to sail for his diocese at Hobart Town, he said: "Be kind, my son, to all your flock, but be kindest to the condemned." When Jefferson Davis was imprisoned at Fortress Monroe Pius sent his likeness to the ex-President of the Confederacy, writing underneath: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis, et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos, dicit Dominus*— "Come to me all you that labor, and are burdened, and I will refresh you, saith the Lord."

When the cholera was raging in Rome he went to the hospitals, not to pay a formal visit, but to minister to the sick with his own hands and assist them in their last agony. In the cholera hospital for women a poor Jewess died in his arms. The sick soldiers in the military hospitals were the objects of his most affectionate care. One day, when all the attendants, as well as those patients who were well enough to be out of bed, were kneeling for his blessing, he saw a young man in the back-

ground, standing, but with an air of respect and embarrassment. "Why do you not come to me like the others?" said Pius.

"Holy Father, I am a Protestant physician."

"A physician! Well, what of that? I like physicians; I owe them a great deal. But you say that you are a Protestant, too. Ah, my son, what do you protest against, and why do you protest?" And so saying he blessed the young man and went on without waiting for an answer. But his questions were like the seed that bore good fruit, and in a few days the doctor was received into the Church.

It was just after the Pope's return from the tour of his States that the notorious "Mortara case" threw the Protestant world into a paroxysm of anti-popery excitement. The Church, regarding the true faith as the most precious of gifts, held that a child baptized into the fold of Christ must not be deprived of the privilege this sacrament confers, even by the authority of its parents. Hence, by an old law of the Roman States, it was provided that the baptized children of Jews should be removed from the parental control and brought up as Christians. To protect the rights of the family, however, it was forbidden to baptize the child of a Jew without the consent of its natural guardians, unless the child were at the point of death; and, as a further precaution, Jewish households were prohibited from hiring Christian servants. In contravention of this law an Israelite family of Bologna,

named Mortara, employed a Christian servant, who baptized the boy Edgar while he was dangerously ill, and on his recovery he was removed, in his seventh year, to the House of Catechumens at Rome. Denunciations of this transaction came with a bad grace from the Liberals of Europe, who were asserting the right of the state to control the religious belief of its subjects; with a still worse grace from the Protestants of the United States, where the kidnapping of Catholic children is legalized, and little vagrants, imprisoned in Houses of Refuge, are not allowed to practise the religion of their parents or receive the ministrations of a priest —being condemned to Protestantism for life as a punishment for poverty and idleness. "You are very dear to me, my son," said Pius to young Mortara ten years afterwards, "for I bought you for Christ with a great price. Yes, you cost me a large ransom. On your account a storm of invective broke out everywhere against me and against the Apostolic See. Governments and peoples, the powers of the earth, and journalists, who are also mighty ones in these days, declared war against me. Sovereigns even took the field and sent me diplomatic notes through their ambassadors, all on your account. They complained of the wrong done to your parents because you were regenerated by holy baptism and received such instruction as it pleased God that you should have; but nobody pities me, the father of all the faithful, when schism tears from me thousands of children in Poland or corrupts

them by pernicious teachings. The peoples and the governments have nothing to say now when I cry out against the cruel wrong done to this part of the flock of Christ, ravaged by the robber in full day. Nobody stirs to help the father and his children."

CHAPTER XII.

PIEDMONT AND THE POPE.

DRIVEN out of Rome by the victory of the French arms, the atheistic conspiracy transferred itself to Turin. The peoples, as the event proved, were not yet ready for the war which Mazzini proclaimed in their name, and once more the revolution trusted its faith to princes. Its objects were unchanged; its animosity against the Catholic faith as the bulwark of political order, and the Holy See as the centre of Christian society, was unmitigated; but its methods of attack were accommodated to new circumstances. To destroy Catholic unity by detaching national churches from their supreme bishop, to silence the clergy, to disperse the religious orders, to expel God from the schools—this was the system of education which Mazzini laid down for his followers, and this was the scheme which they applied to their operations in Italy. Crushed by the disaster of Novara in March, 1849, the unfortunate Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emanuel, and after visiting, alone and unknown, a mountain convent where he confessed and received the Blessed Eucharist,

he retired to Portugal, and there he soon died. Victor Emanuel was more easily controlled by the secret societies than his chivalrous father, and what manner of bargain he made with them for the crown of Italy we may judge from the facts of history. The secularization of teaching began in Sardinia during the last years of Charles Albert; the active persecution and spoliation of the Church followed almost immediately upon the accession of Victor Emanuel. For instructing his clergy how to conduct themselves with reference to a law infringing on ecclesiastical rights the Archbishop of Turin was marched to jail under a guard of soldiers. A second time he was arrested and imprisoned, forbidden to communicate with his vicar-general, and at last banished. A prison chaplain who asked prayers for him was dismissed from his employment. The Archbishop of Cagliari was likewise banished, and the property of both the illustrious exiles was confiscated. The Archbishop of Sassari was placed under arrest. In less than ten years fifteen out of the forty-one sees in the kingdom of Sardinia were empty, either by the expulsion of the bishops or the refusal of the Government to allow vacancies to be filled. Police agents were instructed to watch for the publication of pastorals or the uttering of "observations savoring of insubordination from the pulpit," and to arrest the authors of such discourses without delay. Heavy taxes were laid upon church property, priests were reduced to beggary, and finally, in 1855, a general

law was adopted, in direct violation of the constitution of the kingdom, suppressing religious communities and corporations and confiscating all their property.

By this act nearly eight thousand members of pious communities were deprived of their homes and possessions. But even before the passing of the law many of the convents had been summarily emptied, and nuns had been turned into the street at night and without warning. A series of attacks upon Christian education culminated with the establishment of a state school of heretical theology. In the university of Turin it was taught that the state is omnipotent over the Church, that matrimony cannot be proved a sacrament, that the Church has no right to pronounce upon the impediments to marriage, and that the temporal power of the Pope is incompatible with his spiritual power. The Holy See condemned these teachings, but the Government ordered that all professors in the diocesan seminaries should follow the same programme; and, finally, that no clergyman should receive a benefice without having attended the proscribed school. The Holy Father protested against all these wrongs in diplomatic notes, in allocutions, in eloquent letters to the imprisoned confessors; but the government replied with insults.

Then came the demonstration of Count Cavour at the congress of 1856, when, with sublime effrontery, considering what he was doing, he declared the Papacy "a source of perturbation to the

tranquillity of Europe and a focus of disorder in the centre of Italy." He proposed the separation of the legations from the rest of the Roman States and their government, "for a time," by a pontifical lay vicar. It is well understood that the unexpected introduction of the Roman question at this congress was in pursuance of a private arrangement between Victor Emanuel and Louis Napoleon; and indeed, when Count de Rayneval, in the document from which I have already quoted, answered the charges against the papal administration, his report was suppressed in France, and only saw the light through the enterprise of a daily journal in London. The congress refused to consider the scheme advanced by Count Cavour; the Prussian plenipotentiary complained that the tendency of the discussion was to provoke in Italy "a spirit of opposition and revolutionary agitation"; and Count Buol afterwards wrote to Cavour: "The enemies of society will not cease their warfare against the legitimate governments of Italy so long as they find powers which back and protect them, and statesmen who appeal to those passions and those efforts which aim at the overthrow of all authority." But the mere introduction of the Sardinian protocol served the desired purpose. "It is the first spark," said Count Cavour's own newspaper, "of an irresistible conflagration." "It has given a vigorous impulse to agitation," said another Liberal journal, "and now we have only to take care that it does not flag, and to keep it up

till the decisive day arrives." The speeches of ministers in the Sardinian parliament certainly helped wonderfully to "keep it up," and to strengthen the conviction that whenever the insurgents chose to act they would be supported by the Piedmontese troops. "It will be remembered," said the Mazzinian organ *L'Italia e Popolo*, "that after the memorable parliamentary discussion the Sardinian Government, in order to rekindle the fire which slumbered in the other provinces of Italy, had the speeches of Cavour and Buffa printed and disseminated in thousands throughout the duchies, the Romagna, Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily. Nay, it excited by its emissaries the inhabitants of these States; and the words 'Long live Victor Emanuel!' were written on the walls and doors of houses at Carrara by Piedmontese agents. Still more flattering and more explicit assurances were given to the partisans of Piedmontese rule who came to Turin." And yet, according to Count Cavour, it was the Papacy which disturbed the tranquillity of Europe and fomented disorder in the centre of Italy! Well did Louis Napoleon, in his message to the French Assembly in 1849, declare that "the attacks upon the Pope were not the movement of a people but the work of a conspiracy."

On the 14th of January, 1858, Orsini made his attempt upon Napoleon's life, and from his prison he warned the emperor that the Carbonari held him to his ancient engagements. "So long as Italy

shall not be independent the tranquillity of Europe and that of your majesty will be but a chimera." From this time there was no more mystery about Napoleon's purposes. He had a long private conference with Cavour at Plombières, and on the 1st of January, 1859, he made the famous unfriendly remark to the Austrian ambassador at the Tuileries which proved the signal for the Franco-Italian war. A month later appeared his pamphlet, *Napoleon III. and Italy*, in which he denounced the civil government of the Pope as incompatible with modern civilization, and proposed anew the double-headed confederation of Gioberti, with the King of Sardinia as military chief and the Sovereign Pontiff as honorary president. It was one of the counts in this indictment of the Holy See that the Pope was obliged to enforce his authority by the aid of foreign soldiers. Pius replied by a note addressed on the 27th of February to France and Austria, thanking them for their good offices, but requesting them to withdraw their troops from the Pontifical States, as the papal government was now able to preserve order. This, however, did not suit the purposes of the French and Sardinian conspiracy. The troops remained.

Piedmont, in the meantime, prepared the revolt in all the Italian States. "It is my belief," wrote the British representative at Florence to his Government, "that the insurrection at Parma was only part and parcel of an elaborate Piedmontese conspiracy, aided by the republican party, and having

its ramifications throughout every town in Italy." Garibaldi, now a general in the Piedmontese service, issued a circular instructing the conspirators how to act: "1. As soon as hostilities have commenced between Piedmont and Austria you are to rise with the cry of 'Italy for ever! Victor Emanuel for ever!' 2. Wherever the insurrection triumphs, he among you who enjoys most public esteem and confidence is to take the military and civil command, with the title of provisional commissioner, acting for King Victor Emanuel, and to retain it until the arrival of a commissioner sent by the Sardinian Government." But it is unnecessary to quote proofs of the plot. Mazzini himself laid it bare when he attacked the Government on account of its prosecution of the authors of the abortive revolt at Genoa, in 1857: "Monarchico-Piedmontese committees exist at Rome, Bologna, Florence, and several cities of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, and there are secondary centres in several other towns. I could name to you the persons, several of them deputies, who are the agents between the poor dupes and the personages of the Government." In Florence the plot against the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which resulted in his abdication after his troops had been bribed to desert him, was matured in the very house of the Sardinian ambassador. In Parma the Sardinian agents instigated the expulsion of the Duchess Regent, who was yet so popular that her subjects spontaneously recalled her, and Victor Emanuel had to

drive her out a second time. In the papal provinces the action of Sardinia was still bolder, and as fast as the revolutionary disturbances broke out the Piedmontese commissioners took possession without ceremony. The Marquis Pepoli, who was a leader in these transactions, and afterwards one of Victor Emanuel's ministers, stated in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin that the outbreak never could have been provoked at Bologna if the king had not furnished the money for it from his private purse.

Before the peace of Villafranca a large part of Central Italy was in the hands of the Piedmontese commissioners. By the terms of that treaty the commissioners were to be withdrawn; and the letter of the agreement was, indeed, complied with. Yet hardly were the signatures to the convention dry when Victor Emanuel was found to be setting up a military provisional government over the duchies and the legations, and preparing for a fictitious plebiscitum on the question of annexation to Piedmont. The affairs of Italy were to have been submitted to a European congress, invited to meet at Paris early in 1860, but on the 22d of December appeared a second pamphlet from the Tuileries which made the assembling of a congress impossible. In this manifesto, entitled *The Pope and the Congress*, it was urged that the Holy Father should surrender the provinces of the Romagna, and content himself with the guarantee of the smallest territory consistent with his independence.

The publication was anonymous, but nobody doubted that it expressed the emperor's sentiments, if it was not actually the work of his hand. A week later the *Official Journal* of Rome contained a note denouncing it as "a veritable homage to revolution" and a subject of grief to all good Catholics. "Its arguments are only a repetition of errors and outrages many a time directed against the Holy See and many a time victoriously repelled. If the purpose of the author is to intimidate the Holy See, which he threatens with such terrible disasters, let him remember that he who has right on his side, who rests his cause on the solid and immovable foundations of justice, and above all is sustained by the protection of the King of kings, has certainly nothing to fear from the snares of men." On the 1st of January, 1860, in receiving Gen. Goyon, the commander of the French troops at Rome, Pius referred again to this pamphlet as "a monument of hypocrisy and an ignoble tissue of contradictions." "We hope," said he, "that with the help of the divine light his majesty will condemn the principles set forth in this work, and we are the more convinced that he will do so because we possess several documents which his majesty had the goodness to place in our hands some time ago, and which are a direct contradiction of the principles in question." Monuments of hypocrisy were, indeed, all the letters addressed at this time to the Holy See by the courts of the Tuileries and Turin, both protesting

the most ardent desire to defend the independence which they had been for ten years attacking, and the most filial devotion to the interests of the Church which they robbed and oppressed. Pius replied to them all with dignity and firmness, knowing well the afflictions that were in store for him, never temporizing, standing brave and majestic as the one champion of truth and justice in the midst of an unfaithful world. "Whatever may happen, I must declare openly," he wrote to Napoleon, "that I cannot surrender the legations without violating the solemn oaths which bind me, without producing disorders in the other provinces, without committing a wrong and giving scandal to all Catholics, without impairing the rights not only of the sovereigns of Italy who are unjustly deprived of their domains, but also of the sovereigns of the entire Christian world, who cannot look with indifference upon the overthrow of principles. Your majesty believes that the repose of Europe depends upon the cession by the Pope of the legations which for the past fifty years have been the occasion of so much embarrassment to the Pontifical Government. But, as I promised at the beginning of this letter to speak with entire frankness, let me return to this argument. Who can count the revolutions which have happened in France in the past seventy years? But who would dare say to the great French nation that, to secure the repose of Europe, it must restrict the limits of the empire? The argument proves too much; you must allow

me to reject it. Besides, your majesty is not ignorant by what agents, by whose money, and by what support the risings at Bologna, Ravenna, and other cities were arranged. . . . We must both appear before the Supreme Tribunal to give a strict account of our thoughts, words, and deeds. Let us try so to appear at the judgment-seat of God that we may feel his mercy rather than his justice. I address you thus as a father who has the right to speak the naked truth to his children, however high their position in the world."

To Victor Emanuel, whose insincerity was so flagrant as to be insulting, the language of the Holy Father was at once more severe and more tender: "Your majesty may read my answer in the encyclical letter which is about to appear. Let me add that I profoundly grieve not for myself but for the unhappy state of your majesty's soul, burdened as you are with so many censures, which, alas! will be increased when you and yours shall have consummated the act of sacrilege which you are about to commit. May the Lord deign to enlighten you and yours, and give you the grace to see and deplore the scandals and the frightful evils which have afflicted poor Italy with your co-operation!" The plebiscitum, nevertheless, was duly carried out, under the protection of the Sardinian bayonets, with an apparatus of fraud, intimidation, and high-handed violence which seems incredible in a free country. The voting-lists, prepared by the Sardinian agents, were restricted to the large towns, where

the Mazzinians and the soldiers ensured a majority for the revolution; and so an apparent demand for annexation was carried by a vote of a fraction of one per cent. of the population. On the 18th of March, 1860, the six Papal legations, Bologna, Ferrara, Forli, Ravenna, Urbino e Pesaro, and Velletri, together with the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, were declared annexed to the Sardinian monarchy. The king communicated the news to the Pope in a letter full of expressions of respect for religion and unalterable devotion to the Catholic faith. The Holy Father replied: "I might say that the pretended vote was forced and not voluntary; I refrain from asking your majesty's opinion of this sort of universal suffrage, as I also refrain from expressing my own. I might bring forward many other considerations. But what above all compels me to dissent from your majesty's views is the spectacle of the steady increase of immorality in these provinces, and the insults which are there heaped upon religion and its ministers. Moreover, I am not only unable to regard your majesty's schemes with any favor, but I protest against the acts of usurpation committed upon the States of the Church, which leave upon the conscience of your majesty and all other co-operators in this unworthy spoliation the fatal consequences that must flow from it. I am persuaded that when your majesty reads again, with a calmer and less prejudiced mind and a better knowledge of the facts, the letter which you have addressed to

me, you will find in it many reasons for repentance. I pray God to give your majesty the graces of which you have special need in the difficult circumstances of the moment."

But Pius was not content with these noble personal remonstrances. On the 26th of March he issued a bull of excommunication against all who took part in the "rebellion, usurpation, occupation, and criminal invasion" of the States of the Church. The French Government, which had suppressed the *Univers* for printing the papal encyclical of January 19, forbade the publication of this bull in France. It gave full license to the Liberal and official journals to publish a forged bull, and to ridicule and denounce its extravagant language; but when the bishops tried to expose the forgery the press was closed to them.

CHAPTER XIII.

NON POSSUMUS.

DESERTED or oppressed by all the governments of the world, and foreseeing the stormy days that were soon to come, Pius preserved the calmness and resolution that always adorned his saintly life and that appeared more beautiful than ever in the darkest days of trouble. A sculptor, making a model of his bust, paused to admire the noble proportions of his brow. The Pope took the chisel and traced these words in the clay: *Ecce dedi frontem tuam duriorem frontibus eorum*—"Behold, I have made thy forehead harder than their foreheads." "If the cabinets have their policy," said he one day to a visitor who was speaking of the difficulties of the situation, "so have I mine."

"Will your Holiness explain it to me?"

"Willingly, my son: 'Our Father who art in heaven, thy kingdom come, thy will be done.' That is my policy; I have no other. Be sure it will triumph."

Having lost his revenues by the seizure of the legations, he invited the faithful throughout the world to contribute to the support of his government as well as of the administration of the affairs of the universal Church. At once began the extraordinary

collections of "Peter's pence" which for the past eighteen years have so signally illustrated the devotion of the Catholic populations to the Holy See. France had given notice that it would soon be necessary to withdraw the army of occupation—indeed, even without such notice the Sovereign Pontiff knew that he could never depend upon Louis Napoleon to protect him against revolutionists or Sardinians—and the formation of a defensive force of 20,000 or 25,000 volunteers was begun under the gallant French General La Moricière, a hero of the Algerian wars, who had always refused to serve under the Second Empire. Monsignor de Mérode, a Belgian, formerly a soldier, and, like La Moricière, a veteran of Algeria, became Minister of War. There was a perfect understanding between the Holy Father and these two flaming and untiring spirits. "See," said Pius, "I am well served! I have for ministers a thunderbolt and a hurricane." The volunteers were mostly young and ardent Catholics, from France, Spain, Ireland, Belgium, Holland—some even from America—who felt, as their general did, that the cause of the Pope, desperate as it looked to the world, was one for which a man might be happy to die. Many of them gave their money as well as their persons. "The revolution menaces Europe to-day," said La Moricière in taking command of this army, "as Islamism menaced it of old; and to-day, as of old, the cause of the Papacy is the cause of civilization and liberty."

But Sardinia, having an agreement with Napoleon, was not seriously obstructed by this brave little force in her advance towards Rome. The next step was the occupation of Umbria and the Marches, and this was even a simpler operation than the seizure of the legations. The expedition was concerted at Chambéry between the French emperor and the Piedmontese General Cialdini, and in closing the interview the emperor is reported to have said, *Faites, mais faites vite!*—almost the very words which our Lord spoke to Judas at the Last Supper: "That which thou dost, do quickly." Seventy thousand Sardinians immediately marched to the papal frontier, and Gen. Fanti sent word to La Moricière, who was disposing his volunteers to meet the operations of Garibaldi on the pontifical territory, that "if the papal troops used force to suppress any rising whatever in the Roman States, he would immediately occupy Umbria and the Marches." La Moricière was himself too frank and chivalric to realize the mendacity of Napoleon, and when the French ambassador solemnly assured Cardinal Antonelli that the Piedmontese troops would be compelled to respect the boundary line, and confine themselves to the suppression of the Garibaldians, he believed these representations, in spite of what was passing before his eyes. A despatch from M. de Gramont, the ambassador at Rome, confirmed him in this error. "The emperor has written from Marseilles to the King of Sardinia," said this telegram, "that if the Piedmon-

tese troops enter the pontifical territory, he will feel it his duty to oppose them. Reinforcements will arrive at once from Toulon. The government of the emperor will not tolerate the culpable aggression of the Sardinian Government." The despatch was submitted to Cialdini, who had already begun the march of invasion. He put it in his pocket, saying: "I knew about it before you; I have been with the emperor." The messenger asked for a receipt. "There," said Cialdini, contemptuously signing one, "that will do to go with the other diplomatic papers." With 5,600 volunteers La Moricière and Pimodan heroically confronted the 45,000 troops of Cialdini at Castelfidardo, September 18, 1860, the papal soldiers beginning the day of battle by receiving the Holy Eucharist at dawn. They were defeated with serious loss. The brave Marquis de Pimodan fell during the engagement. La Moricière, with a remnant of his force, made his way to Ancona, and, still hoping for the intervention of one or more of the Catholic powers, prolonged the defence of that city against a combined land and naval attack until the 29th. His capitulation at last, when resistance was no longer possible, left the Pope without an army, and the Sardinians masters of everything except the city of Rome and the small territory close around its walls. Garibaldi, in the meantime, with the secret assistance of the Sardinian Government, and in the face of a farcical opposition from the Sardinian fleet, which carefully

failed in its pretended attempts to intercept him, had roused the island of Sicily. Victor Emanuel speedily took possession of the whole territory of Naples, and in March, 1861, assumed the title of king of Italy. The dethroned king of Naples, son of the monarch who had so generously entertained Pius at Gaeta, fled to Rome, and there found a princely reception. Victor Emanuel complained; Napoleon half threatened to withdraw his troops if the exile were not expelled. But the Pope, reminding the French emperor of the refuge which Pius VII. had held open to the family of Napoleon I., remarked that it was a tradition with the Roman Pontiffs to show hospitality to their persecutors, and much more to their benefactors.

The policy of the emperor became more and more open in its hostility to Rome. He forbade the Catholics of France to subscribe for a sword of honor for La Moricière; he deprived the French volunteers of their citizenship as a punishment for serving the Pope. He summoned home Gen. Goyon, the commander of the French troops at Rome, because he was too stanch a friend of the Sovereign Pontiff. The general did not understand the motive of these orders. "I am called to France, Holy Father," said he, in taking leave; "not *re*called." "Go, my son," was the reply; "you will find the *re* at Paris." The Pope was right. In September, 1864, Napoleon signed a convention with Victor Emanuel, by which it was agreed that the French army should evacuate

Rome within two years, and that the Pope should be secured in the possession of the territory which he then occupied, the Government at Turin binding itself neither to invade that little State nor to allow it to be invaded by others. The Italian capital was to be removed from Turin to Florence. But the Piedmontese Government never had an idea of keeping long to the terms of the convention, and the very statesmen who put their names to it declared that it would in no wise hinder their designs upon Rome. The Pope was not consulted in this arrangement of his future and parcelling out of his property. When he heard of it he said: "I pity France." Doubtless he saw the true meaning of the convention, just as did the Marquis Pepoli, who was one of Victor Emanuel's plenipotentiaries in the negotiation. "It breaks the last link," said the marquis, "which connects France with our enemies"—the enemies being the Holy See and the Catholic religion.

The magnificent firmness, the holy courage of Pius IX. were never grander than in these critical days. Denouncing the iniquities of the new Italian kingdom, the spoliation of churches, the suppression of convents, the abolition of seminaries and pious schools, the license of an immoral press, or exposing the tricks and falsehoods of the French emperor, or castigating the czar for his atrocious persecution of the Poles, or waging ceaseless war upon the atheistic revolution, he was indeed "every inch a pope." "Rome is a city of wonders," said

a French bishop, "but the wonder of Rome is Pius IX." To the French Government, which had urged him to come to an understanding with the Italians, he replied through Cardinal Antonelli:

"It is not true that there is discord between the Sovereign Pontiff and Italy. If the Holy Father has broken with the cabinet of Turin, he maintains an excellent understanding, nevertheless, with Italy. An Italian himself, and the first of Italians, he suffers in her sufferings, and shares in the cruel trials which afflict the Italian Church.

"As for agreeing with the despoilers, we will never do it. I can only repeat that any transaction on that basis is impossible. With whatever reserves it might be accompanied, with whatever adroitness of phrase it might be disguised, the moment we accepted we should appear to sanction it. The Sovereign Pontiff before his exaltation, and the cardinals at the time of their nomination, bind themselves by oath not to yield up any part of the territory of the Church. The Holy Father, therefore, will make no concession of this nature; a conclave would have no right to do it; a new Pontiff could not do it; his successors, from generation to generation, would be equally unable to do it."

And a little later he said to the same faithless adviser at the Tuileries:

"The Holy Father can consent to nothing which directly or indirectly sanctions in any manner whatever the spoliations of which he has been the victim. He cannot alienate, either directly or indirectly, any parcel of the territory which constitutes the property of the Church and of all Catholicity. His conscience forbids; and he is resolved to keep it pure before God and before man."

Here was the famous answer *Non possumus*, which became a byword and a symbol of the unconquerable opposition between the everlasting principles of God's Church and the evil tendencies of modern society. It had been still more plainly stated, perhaps, in the allocution *Jamdudum cernimus* of March 18, 1861:

"For a long time, venerable brothers, we have witnessed a lamentable struggle, begotten of the irreconcilable antagonism between truth and falsehood, virtue and vice, light and darkness, which, in our time, disturbs and convulses society. Some maintain what they call the ideas of modern civilization; others defend the cause of justice and of our holy religion. The former call upon the Roman Pontiff to reconcile and ally himself to what they call 'progress' and 'liberalism' and the new civilization. They profess to be true and sincere friends of religion; we would gladly believe them, but the sad events which daily occur under the eyes of all men bear witness to the contrary. And as for those who invite us for the good of religion to join hands with modern civilization, we ask them how it is possible for him whom Christ has made his vicar on earth, and charged to keep his heavenly doctrine pure and to feed and strengthen his flock, to ally himself in good conscience and without scandal with that modern civilization which begets such lamentable evils, such abominable opinions, so many errors and doctrines opposed to the Catholic religion and its teachings?

"This modern civilization favors every form of worship that is not Catholic, while it denounces religious communities, pious congregations for the direction of Catholic education, ecclesiastics of every rank, even the highest, many of whom are now imprisoned or ban-

ished, and illustrious laymen who, in their devotion to our person and to the Holy See, have zealously defended the cause of religion and justice. This civilization is prodigal of support to non-Catholic institutions and persons, while it strips the Catholic Church of her lawful property, and labors incessantly to destroy her wholesome influence. It gives full liberty to those who, by speech or writing, attack the Church and her defenders; it inspires and fosters unbridled license; and while it is lenient towards those who assail virtuous books, it is harsh in its treatment of religious writers, and pursues them with the utmost rigor if they chance to transgress in the slightest degree the bounds of moderation.

"Is it possible for the Sovereign Pontiff to become the friend and ally of such a civilization as this? Let us call things again by their right names, and it will be seen that this Holy See is always consistent with itself. It has always been the patron and the nurse of true civilization. But with a pretended civilization which aims at weakening and even destroying the Church of Christ, never, certainly, can the Holy See and the Roman Pontiff come to an agreement. 'For what participation,' cries the Apostle, 'hath justice with injustice? Or what fellowship hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial?'"

After briefly reviewing the course of the revolution in the Roman States, and the persecution of the Church which invariably followed the Piedmontese occupation, he continued:

"After they have thus insulted the religion which they hypocritically invite to reconcile itself with modern civilization, they do not hesitate, with equal hypocrisy, to urge us to reconcile ourselves with Italy. That is to say, after we have been stripped of nearly our whole

principality, and compelled to meet the heavy cost of the temporal and spiritual government by the generous offering of our pious and loving children; after we have been made without any cause the object of the hate and malice of the very men who demand this reconciliation, they ask us, besides, to yield formally to the despoilers the title to the property which they have usurped. By which audacious and unheard-of demand they ask the Apostolic See, which always has been and always will be the bulwark of truth and justice, to sanction the peaceable possession by an unjust aggressor of property which he has acquired by wicked violence, and to establish the false principle that a successful wrong is no infringement of the sanctity of right."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TEACHER OF THE WORLD.

IT was in the heat of the warfare against the temporal power, and of attempts in France, in Italy, in Germany, in Spanish America, in various other countries of the Old World and the New, to undermine the authority of the Holy See, to separate the bishops from their head, and destroy the attachment of Catholic peoples for the centre of Catholic life, that Pius IX. called forth the most signal demonstrations of the perfect unity of the episcopate, and made the most memorable assertions of the supreme teaching power of the vicar of Christ. Striking as had been the manifestation of the Catholicity of the Church on the occasion of the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, there was a still more remarkable gathering in Rome in May and June, 1862, when, at the invitation of the Holy Father, an enormous multitude of bishops, priests, and pilgrims from the four quarters of the earth came together at St. Peter's for the canonization of twenty-six missionaries crucified more than two and a half centuries ago in Japan. Two hundred and sixty-five cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, four thousand

priests, and a hundred thousand lay visitors are said to have witnessed the solemnities, and nearly eighty bishops of Italy protested against the violence of the Italian Government, which would not permit them to join the throng. Traversing the crowded streets from one sanctuary to another, answering the cheers which rose from devout and excited multitudes as he passed among them, receiving deputations with his unfailing benignity, borne aloft across the splendid basilica and blessing the close ranks which knelt before him, presiding over magnificent ceremonies, addressing the bishops and clergy, Pius IX. was the radiant centre of a grand religious movement which inflamed the imagination of even the sceptical and profoundly stirred every faithful heart. From Ascension to Pentecost Rome was filled with the splendor of a festival. On the 6th of June the Pope preached, in Latin and French, to four thousand priests, who completely filled the Sistine Chapel. After the benediction one of the listeners, on the impulse of the moment, intoned the prayer for the Pope, *Oremus pro Pontifice nostro Pio*, and three times the whole assembly, as if with one voice, responded with the invocation. The formalities of the canonization were celebrated in St. Peter's on the feast of Pentecost, June 8, and the next day the Holy Father delivered an allocution to the Sacred College in the presence of all the bishops then at Rome. He denounced the prevalent errors of the day—errors in religion, errors in philo-

sophy, errors in politics; he censured the license of the anti-Christian press; he exhorted the guardians of Christ's flock to watch carefully over the training of the young. But the most significant document of all the prolonged solemnities was an address to the Holy Father read by the dean of the Sacred College on the 8th of June, and signed by all the bishops in Rome, both of the Latin, Greek, and Oriental rites. It expressed in unmistakable terms the belief of the entire episcopate in the plenitude of the Pontiff's teaching authority: "For you are to us the teacher of sound doctrine, the centre of unity, the unfailing light to the nations, kindled by divine wisdom. You are the Rock, the foundation of the Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. When you speak we hear Peter's voice; when you decide we obey the authority of Christ." It declared the sense of the whole Church to be that the temporal power was necessary to the Supreme Pontiff's, and an institution of providential origin. Finally, it proclaimed in eloquent terms the close union of faith and sympathy between the universal Church and the holy Roman See. "We condemn the errors which you have condemned; we detest the new and strange doctrines which are taught to the injury of the Church of Jesus Christ; we denounce and condemn the sacrileges, spoliations, violations of ecclesiastical immunities, and other outrages which have been committed against the Church and the See of Peter."

We have seen how Pius IX. combated the at-

tempts of unfaithful Catholic governments to build up national churches within their respective territories and make them the servants of the civil power. The tyranny of a schismatic government over its Catholic subjects aroused no less his indignant resistance. A rising in unhappy Poland, provoked by the intolerable harshness of the Russian Government, was followed by redoubled cruelties. Identifying the religious sentiment with the sentiment of Polish nationality, the czar undertook to crush the Catholic faith throughout the kingdom. The churches were closed, the bishops were imprisoned or exiled, hundreds of priests were transported to Siberia, and families were compelled to choose between apostasy and banishment. The Holy Father remonstrated with the czar in the most eloquent and sympathetic language, and, failing in these representations, he sent a special envoy to Vienna to beg the intervention of the Austrian emperor. His tender heart seemed breaking with sorrow when he heard the sad story of the Polish martyrs; his holy anger was like a consuming fire when he hurled his reproaches at their persecutors. He ordered public prayers for Poland, and he took part personally in an extraordinary devotional solemnity, when a vast multitude of the Roman people, moved by his ringing voice, knelt with him at the basilica of St. Mary Major to beg the divine interposition. "The blood of the weak and the innocent," exclaimed he, in an address delivered at the Propaganda in April, 1864, "cries to the

throne of the Eternal for vengeance against those who spill it. This potentate, who falsely calls himself an Oriental Catholic, whereas he is only a schismatic rejected from the bosom of the true Church—this potentate persecutes and kills his Catholic subjects and drives them to revolt by his ferocious cruelty. Under pretext of repressing this insurrection he is extirpating Catholicism; he is transporting whole populations to frozen regions where they are deprived of all religious succor, and he is replacing them with schismatical adventurers. He is tearing the priests from their flocks, and sending them into exile, or condemning them to penal servitude and other infamous punishments. Happy are those who have been able to flee, and who now wander homeless in a strange land! This potentate, heterodox and schismatic as he is, arrogates to himself a power which even the vicar of Jesus Christ does not possess; for he presumes to depose a bishop whom we have instituted. Insensate man! He does not know that a Catholic bishop, in his see or in the catacombs, is always the same, and that his character is indelible. And let no one say that in lifting up our voice against such transactions we are fomenting the European revolution. We know how to distinguish between the socialist revolution and the legitimate rights of a nation struggling for its independence and its religious faith." The apostolic courage of this rebuke to a mighty empire, made at a moment when the revolution was fast closing around the papal

throne, and all the powers of Europe were either in league against it or indifferent to its fate, extorted a cry of admiration even from the enemies of the Papacy. Sig. Brofferio exclaimed in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin, amidst the applause of the radical members: "What a spectacle is that old man, worn, sick, without resources, without an army, on the edge of the grave, cursing a potentate who slays a people! It stirs me to the very depth of my being; I fancy myself carried back to the days of Gregory VII.; I bow my head and applaud!"

Some time afterward Pius gave audience to the Russian chargé d'affaires, M. de Meyendorf, and spoke to him about the unhappy condition of Poland. M. de Meyendorf denied everything, even the most notorious facts, and declared, moreover, that the Catholics were everywhere accomplices with the rebels. "There is nothing astonishing in that," he added; "Catholicism and revolution are the same thing."

"Begone!" exclaimed Pius. "I must believe, monsieur, that the emperor, your master, is ignorant of the greater part of the wrongs under which Poland suffers; I honor and esteem your emperor, therefore; but I cannot say as much for his representative who comes to insult me in my own palace." The persecution has not ceased to this day.

Encouraging and consoling the Polish bishops, and instructing them as to their conduct in these

trying circumstances; correcting the dangerous tendencies of a party of Catholic theologians at Munich; gently rebuking the over-moderate policy of the illustrious Archbishop of Paris; addressing to the Bishop of Fribourg a memorable letter on the paramount necessity of religious education; censuring the spoliation of church property in Mexico, alike by Juarez and by Maximilian; sending missionaries into Dahomey, and hastening to gather the first converts in the newly-opened empire of Japan; always cheering and guiding the long-suffering bishops of Italy—this extraordinary Pope was literally the teacher of the whole world. His activity had no parallel, and seemed to be broken by no repose.

It was at the close of the year 1864, just after France and Italy by the convention of Turin had divided his estate between them and made a more formal declaration than ever of the exclusion of religion from the sphere of civil society, that Pius published his great declaration of Catholic doctrine with respect to the politico-ecclesiastical controversies of the time, which will always be reckoned among the chief works of his pontificate. Certainly, if there is an irreconcilable conflict between the Church and the world, it is no less important to one side than to the other that the line of division should be marked with the utmost clearness. All the points in controversy had been covered from time to time by Pius himself and his immediate predecessor; but even Catholic writers here and there

seemed to have forgotten the true spirit of Catholic teaching, and to have been captivated by the specious phrases which a false liberalism has imposed upon mankind in lieu of philosophical principles. Hence the encyclical *Quanta cura* of December 8, 1864, with the accompanying index, or Syllabus, of condemned propositions. It taught no new doctrine, but it brought together in one comprehensive letter of censure a whole catalogue of errors against which the Pontiff had been protesting ever since he came to the throne. Treating first of the relations between the Church and the state, the encyclical reminds the bishops that the principle of "naturalism" in politics, which makes no account of religion in the regulation of civil society, is contrary to Catholic doctrine; the modern idea that the best government is one which treats true and false creeds alike, and leaves to all men not only complete liberty of conscience and worship but the unrestricted privilege of propagating whatever opinions they please, is a dangerous error; "the will of the people" does not constitute a supreme law independent of all divine and human right; "accomplished facts," by the mere circumstance of their being accomplished, have not the force of right; and human society, released from the ties of religion and justice, has no other sanction than material force, no other aim than selfish interests. Separated from civil society, religion will next be abolished in the family and in private life; thus already the communistic doctrine

is taught that domestic society derives its reason of existence from the civil law, and the state consequently arrogates to itself the right to define the parental authority and to control the education of the young; and to this false principle are traceable the incessant efforts of the party of disorder to remove children from the influence of the Church and drive the clergy from the schools. Treating more particularly of conflicts, actual or possible, between the civil and ecclesiastical law, the encyclical declares that the authority of the Church is not subordinate to the civil authority; that its decrees do not require the sanction of the civil power; that it is entirely independent of the secular authority; that it may extend to secular concerns, and its scope is not confined to dogmas of faith and morals, but binds the conscience even when it refers to other matters connected with the general welfare of the Church. In the Syllabus the various errors against which the encyclical is directed will be found still more exactly defined. Eighty condemned propositions are enumerated, and classified under ten heads, namely: 1. Pantheism, naturalism, and absolute rationalism. 2. Moderate rationalism. 3. Indifferentism and latitudinarianism. 4. Socialism, communism, secret societies, Biblical societies, and clerico-liberal societies. 5. Errors concerning the Church and her rights. 6. Errors concerning civil society considered both in itself and in its relation to the Church. 7. Errors concerning natural and Chris-

tian ethics. 8. Errors concerning Christian marriage. 9. Errors concerning the civil power of the Sovereign Pontiff. 10. Errors concerning modern liberalism. Many of the "errors of our time" censured in this catalogue are abstract doctrines; but the greater part concern Christian morals and the relations between Church and state, and not a few will be found formally set forth in the acts of the Italian Government and other European powers which nevertheless profess to be Catholic. This is not the place to discuss the teachings of the encyclical, but it may not be amiss to quote a few of the propositions which provoked the bitterest criticism from the anti-Catholic world, and gave rise to the cry that Pius IX. had set himself against the course of modern civilization and enlightenment. Here, then, are some of the popular errors which the Syllabus condemns:

"23. Roman Pontiffs and œcumenical councils have wandered outside the limits of their powers, have usurped the rights of princes, and have even erred in defining matters of faith and morals.

"24. The Church has not the power of using force; nor has she any temporal power, direct or indirect.

"27. The Roman Pontiff and the sacred ministers of the Church are to be absolutely excluded from every charge and dominion over temporal affairs.

"30. The immunity of the Church and of ecclesiastical persons derived its origin from civil law.

"42. In the case of conflicting laws enacted by the two powers the civil law prevails.

"45. The entire government of public schools . . . ought to appertain to the civil power. . . .

"48. Catholics may approve of a system of educating youth unconnected with Catholic faith and the power of the Church, and which regards the knowledge of merely natural things, and only, or at least primarily, the ends of earthly social life.

"55. The Church ought to be separated from the state, and the state from the Church.

"63. It is lawful to refuse obedience to legitimate princes, and even to rebel against them.

"67. By the law of nature the marriage tie is not indissoluble, and in many cases divorce properly so-called may be decreed by the civil authority.

"74. Matrimonial causes and espousals belong by their nature to civil tribunals.

"76. The abolition of the temporal power of which the Apostolic See is possessed would contribute in the greatest degree to the liberty and prosperity of the Church.

"77. In the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion should be held as the only religion of the state, to the exclusion of all other forms of worship.

"80. The Roman Pontiff can, and ought to, reconcile himself and come to terms with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization."

If there is ever to be a re-establishment of true Christian society, Pius IX. has traced out the foundations upon which it must rest. The world was filled with rage at these declarations, but the world and the Church are at war, and it was a grand deed to demonstrate that in this conflict the Church stands exactly where she has stood from the beginning and will stand to the end. There are few more magnificent examples of fortitude in all his-

tory than the spectacle of the aged and persecuted Pontiff who will neither compromise, nor temporize, nor even be silent, but only lifts his standard higher as his enemies press around him. A Protestant writer (Mr. Trollope), whose remarks are not always fair or true, or even decent, says of the publication of the encyclical and Syllabus: "In doing this Pius has placed himself on his true ground. We may meet him on it. We may take part with the world, and fight him and his, inch by inch; but we cannot insist that he has no *locus standi.* We must, if we take our stand with the world against the Church, do so avowedly and knowingly. Pius IX. has done a great thing! He has brought his generation unmistakably to the forking of the ways. He could not be let to be a great king, so he determined to be a great Pope; and he has become a greater Pope than almost any one of his predecessors."

CHAPTER XV.

THE CENTENARY OF PETER.

ON the 6th of December, 1866, the French troops were entirely withdrawn from Rome, in accordance with the pledges of the Turin convention, and a papal army of 12,000 volunteers, recruited, like the gallant force under La Moricière, from all the Catholic countries, and supported in great part by the special contributions of their countrymen, undertook the defence of the small remnant of the Roman territory. La Moricière was no longer living. General Kanzler, who had succeeded Monsignor de Mérode as Minister of War, was commander-in-chief. In taking leave of the French officers the Pope said: "We must not deceive ourselves. The revolution will come to Rome. We shall see the end here. Go, my sons, with my benediction and my love. If you see the emperor, tell him that I pray for him every day. They say that his health is not very good; I pray for his health. They say that his soul is not tranquil; I pray for his soul. The French nation is Christian; its chief ought to be Christian, too."

To his personal friends he said: "Yes, it is God

who sustains his vicar. I was driven away once, and I came back. If I am driven away again I shall come back. And if I die—well, if I die Peter will rise again."

The Garibaldians, openly assisted as before by the Italian Government, hardly waited for the retirement of the French garrison before they invaded the papal territory, and Victor Emanuel paid no more regard to the engagements of the Turin convention than if they had been made in jest. This was more than public opinion in France would tolerate. A French force under Gen. de Failly was sent to Rome to co-operate with Gen. Kanzler; and after several minor engagements Garibaldi was signally defeated at Mentana Nov. 3, 1867, leaving a number of his men in the hands of the victors. Fighting under no recognized flag, and repudiated by the mendacious Government at Florence, these captives were of course not entitled to be treated as prisoners of war; but the benevolent Pontiff, after visiting the wounded and supplying them with clothing, dismissed them all. The secret societies within the city of Rome had endeavored to co-operate with the invaders, and as a preliminary to the seizure of the military posts they undermined and blew up one of the barracks. There were no soldiers in it at the time, but the musicians of the Zouave corps were there practising, and they lost their lives by the explosion. Two of the authors of this atrocious deed were arrested, tried by the civil courts, and executed.

The moment the Garibaldians crossed the frontier, and even before there had been any serious passage of arms, Count Giraud, one of the municipal councillors of Rome, accompanied by three of his colleagues, all Liberals like himself, waited upon the Pope and asked leave to present a petition which the municipal council had been charged to submit to the Vatican. It was a request that His Holiness would invite Victor Emanuel to occupy Rome with an army, in order to maintain order, and it professed to be supported by the signatures of 12,000 Roman citizens. Pius, having received the deputation and read the petition, asked for the roll of signatures. The count was disconcerted, and at last acknowledged that the petition was anonymous, and had been given to him by a porter, who had received it in the street from an unknown gentleman. The 12,000 Roman citizens had no existence in the flesh. The Pope dismissed the abashed deputation, and said to those around him: "I shall not open the gates of Rome to the troops of Victor Emanuel any more than to the troops of Garibaldi; and those who enter will enter by violence. If they are the royal troops who seize upon my capital I shall quit the city; but if they are the Garibaldians I shall remain to share with my clergy the martyrdom which awaits us."

It was in the midst of mutterings of revolution and threats of exile that Pius summoned around his throne, for the third time, a mighty assemblage of the bishops of the world. Two days after the

departure of the French garrison, when he found himself almost defenceless, face to face with the enemy which had been pressing upon him for twenty years, he issued the letters of invitation which called the whole episcopate to Rome for the celebration of the eighteenth centenary of the martyrdom of St. Peter. The anniversary fell in June, 1867. To human judgment it appeared in the highest degree improbable that a concourse of bishops would be allowed to meet at the tomb of the apostle in June, 1867, and doubtful whether the Pope himself would be in Rome. But to the sublime faith of Pius IX. no difficulties seemed alarming. At the appointed time such a spectacle was witnessed in the capital of Christendom as the world had never seen before. Five hundred and twelve bishops, twenty thousand priests, and one hundred and twenty thousand other persons flocked to Rome for this extraordinary solemnity. The population of the city was doubled. Pilgrims from the four quarters of the earth brought rich offerings. The signatures to addresses counted by millions. The Italians, who were said to be hostile to the Papacy, were no less enthusiastic than other nations in commemorating the first Pope and honoring his living successor. A hundred cities of Italy united in presenting an enormous album and a hundred purses of gold. Fifty thousand Italians from various parts of the peninsula are said to have joined the universal pilgrimage. America and the Indies sent their thousands. "The patriarchs and

bishops of the East who surrounded Pius IX.," said Cardinal Manning, "brought to my mind the first-fruits of the nations who came up to Bethlehem. There were some who had travelled forty days—one who had travelled longer still—before they could reach an ordinary road. When I saw them surround the vicar of our Lord and kiss his feet, almost by force, I prayed God that the day might be hastened when the sun shall arise upon Asia restored to the unity of the only fold." Eighty-five of the poorest of the bishops were lodged and entertained at the Pope's expense, and not one of these needy prelates was dismissed without a handsome present for his diocese.

For three weeks Rome was filled with the aroma of piety, the flame of religious ardor, and the splendor of stately ceremonial. So grand a manifestation of the universality of the Church, so impressive an evidence of the union between the bishops and their chief, will long be chronicled in sacred history as one of the momentous events of our stirring time. The 17th of June was the anniversary of the Pope's creation. After the Mass in the Sistine the Holy Father went to unvest in the Pauline Chapel, and there the cardinal-vicar, in the name of the Sacred College, made the usual address of congratulation, wishing his Holiness "health and many years to see the peace and triumph of the Church." The beautiful and touching language in which Pius replied is said to have stirred the heart of every one present: "I accept

your good wishes," said he, "from my heart, but I remit their verification to the hands of God. We are in a moment of great crisis. If we look only to the aspect of human events, there is no hope; but we have a higher confidence. Men are intoxicated with dreams of unity and progress; but neither is possible without justice. Unity and progress based on pride and egotism are illusions. God has laid on me the duty to declare the truths on which Christian society is based, and to condemn the errors which undermine its foundations. And I have not been silent. In the encyclical of 1864, and in that which is called the Syllabus, I declared to the world the dangers which threaten society, and I condemned the falsehoods which assail its life. That act I now confirm in your presence, and I set it again before you as the rule of your teaching. To you, venerable brethren, as bishops of the Church, I now appeal to assist me in this conflict with error. On you I rely for support. When the people of Israel wandered in the wilderness they had a pillar of fire to guide them in the night, and a cloud to shield them from the heat by day. You are the pillar and the cloud to the people of God. By your teaching you must guide the faithful in the darkness; by your example you must shield them from the burning sun of this world. I am aged and alone, praying on the mountain; and you, the bishops of the Church, are come to hold up my arms. The Church must suffer, but it will conquer. 'Preach the word; be

instant in season, out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke with all patience and doctrine. For there shall be a time'—and that time is come—'when they will not endure sound doctrine.' The world will contradict you and turn from you; but be firm and faithful. 'For I am even now ready to be sacrificed, and the time of my dissolution is at hand.' I have, I trust, fought a good fight, and have kept the faith; and there is laid up for you, and I hope for me also, 'a crown of justice which the Lord, the just judge, will render to me at that day!'"

The 20th of June was the feast of Corpus Christi; as the Supreme Pontiff knelt on that day with the Blessed Sacrament in his hands, praying silently in the midst of the silent multitude, with half the bishops of the universe around him, an eye-witness of the ceremony relates that a calm so profound fell upon the immense gathering that one seemed to be alone in the stillness of the desert. On the 24th, when the Pope visited the Lateran basilica, a vast crowd in the great square before the church rent the air with acclamations so long and hearty that the Holy Father, no stranger certainly to marks of popular affection, was moved to tears. The papal carriage, surrounded by an excited populace cheering, waving handkerchiefs, and scattering flowers, was for some time unable to move, and the demonstrations lasted all through the journey of three miles from the Lateran to St. Peter's. It is related that by the time the Pope

reached the Vatican his white cloak was torn almost to shreds by relic-hunters.

On the 26th was held a consistory in the tribune over the atrium of St. Peter's, and there Pius made the first public announcement of his intention to summon an œcumenical council. On the eve of the Centenary the Pope sang Vespers with great solemnity in St. Peter's. At night the city was illuminated. The pontifical Mass, on the feast itself (June 29), was celebrated by the Holy Father at the high altar of St. Peter's, over the apostle's tomb, and after the gospel he preached a sermon to the five hundred bishops and the innumerable multitude of the faithful who filled the basilica. "The splendor and beauty of that ceremony," says Cardinal Manning, "was probably never equalled. It was royal and pontifical in all the fulness of majestic grandeur." The episcopal chair of St. Peter, which is enclosed within a bronze throne designed by Bernino and placed above the altar in the apse of the church, was exposed to view for the first time in two hundred years. Other incidents of the prolonged commemoration were the celebration of the feast of St. Paul in the gorgeous basilica outside the walls; the consecration of the church of St. Mary of the Angels; and, lastly, on the 1st of July the reception of the bishops, who presented a reply to the allocution. "When the address had been read," says Cardinal Manning, "and when the Holy Father was about to bestow the apostolical benediction and bid farewell

to the bishops, the *Angelus* of noon sounded. He rose and began the Angelical Salutation, half the bishops of the world responding. Such a salutation was perhaps never before offered to the Mother of God on earth. At Ephesus there were four hundred and thirty bishops, but the Vicar of her divine Son was not there. So, simply and grandly, ended the Centenary of 1867."

The announcement of the coming council was a great surprise to nearly all those present at the Centenary, and it was received with unbounded satisfaction. Although it was certainly not the purpose of the Sovereign Pontiff to obtain from this œcumenical gathering a definition of any one particular doctrine, the dogmatic declaration of Papal Infallibility, which the events of the past ten or twelve years had been forcing more and more upon the attention of the episcopate, was at once made a subject of discussion, and most theologians probably saw that it must logically follow from the assembling of the council. After the allocution of the 26th of June a general meeting of the bishops was held at the Altieri Palace to draw up the address of reply. The task was delegated to a committee of seven, consisting of Cardinal de Angelis, the Archbishops of Saragossa, Sorrento, and Kalocsa, Monsignor (now Cardinal) Franchi, Dr. Manning, and Bishop Dupanloup. Dr. Manning relates that in the original draft of the address the word "infallible" was in more places than one ascribed to the office and authority of the Pontiff.

To this word, as expressing a doctrine of Catholic truth, no member of the commission objected. It was urged, however, that the term had never yet been applied to the Pope in the formal acts of any general council, and, as the five hundred bishops then assembled in Rome did not constitute a council, it might be advisable not to forestall the future action of the episcopate by adopting any language not already sanctioned by the authoritative declarations of the Church. The address was restricted, therefore, to the expressions used by the Council of Florence (1439). How plainly it implied the doctrine of infallibility and foreshadowed the definition of 1870 will be seen from the following extract:

"Five years ago we rendered our due testimony to the sublime office you bear, and gave public expression to our prayers for you, for your civil princedom, and the cause of right and of religion. We then professed, both in words and writing, that nothing was more true or dearer to us than to believe and teach those things which you believe and teach, than to reject those errors which you reject. All those things which we then declared we now renew and confirm. Never has your voice been silent. You have accounted it to belong to your supreme office to proclaim eternal verities, to smite the errors of the time which threaten to overthrow the natural and supernatural order of things and the very foundations of ecclesiastical and civil power; so that at length all may know what it is that every Catholic should hold, retain, and profess. Believing that Peter has spoken by the mouth of Pius, therefore whatsoever you have spoken, confirmed, and pronounced for the safe custody of the deposit we likewise speak, confirm, and pro-

nounce; and with one voice and one mind we reject everything which, as being opposed to divine faith, the salvation of souls, and the good of human society, you have judged fit to reprove and reject. For that is firmly and deeply established in our consciousness which the fathers at Florence defined in their decree on Union, that the Roman Pontiff 'is the vicar of Christ, head of the whole Church, and father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him, in the person of blessed Peter, has been committed by our Lord Jesus Christ full power to feed, to rule, and to govern the universal Church!'"

The 11th of April, 1869, was the fiftieth anniversary of the Pope's first Mass, and his "golden jubilee" was celebrated all over the world with extraordinary demonstrations of regard. The sovereigns of Europe sent him autograph letters of congratulation. The people made offerings of money and other valuable presents, and deputations from distant countries travelled to Rome to make a personal protestation of loyalty and affection. Never before, said a German archbishop in a pastoral letter on this occasion, has any pope been brought so close to the universal heart of humanity. "Ah! my God," exclaimed the Holy Father, in replying to an address by certain pilgrims, "have mercy on me; my happiness is too great. I fear lest, when I appear before thy justice, thou mayest say to me, 'Thou hast had thy reward on earth.' No, it is not for me, O my God; the love of these Christians is for thee—for thee alone!" The costly tributes presented to the Holy Father at this jubilee were publicly displayed in the halls of the

Vatican. As Pius walked through the collection with his guests, " Here," said he, " is my Universal Exhibition. And here," laying his hand upon the mighty pile of signed addresses, "is the universal suffrage of Christendom."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

I HAVE mentioned in the proper place the first public announcement of the intention of Pius IX. to summon an œcumenical council. But the project had been for a long time under serious consideration. On the 6th of December, 1864, the Pope presided in the Vatican palace over a session of the Congregation of Rites, composed of cardinals and officials. After the opening prayer the officials were requested to retire, and the cardinals remained for some time in secret conference with the Pontiff.* This unusual event caused great surprise and curiosity. It was not known until long afterward that the Holy Father had communicated to the Sacred College the thought, which had been for some years in his mind, of convoking a council "as an extraordinary remedy to the extraordinary needs of the Christian world," and had required from each of the cardinals then in Rome a written opinion on the subject. Twenty-one answers were submitted in due time to this

* See *The True Story of the Vatican Council.* by Cardinal Manning (London, 1877). I have drawn the history of the council almost entirely from this admirable little book.

command. All except two agreed that the disorders of the world—the tendency to exclude the Church and revelation from the sphere of civil society and science; the progress of "modern revolutionary liberalism," which consists in the assertion of the supremacy of the state over the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church, over education, marriage, consecrated property, and the temporal power of the head of the Church; the spread of indifferentism; the infiltration of rationalistic principles into the philosophy of certain Catholic schools; and changes made necessary in Church discipline by changes in the general condition of society during the three hundred years since the Council of Trent—did call for correction by a general council. Four of the cardinals doubted whether the time was convenient for the assembling of a council, but they believed that all the preparations ought to be made for it. One declined to express a positive opinion, submitting himself to the judgment of the Pontiff. Only two opposed the project. The majority foresaw many difficulties, but they held that the need was greater than the danger. With regard to the subjects to be treated, the cardinals suggested the condemnation of modern errors, the exposition of Catholic doctrine, the observance and modification of discipline, the raising of the state of the clergy and the religious orders, the license of the press, secret societies, marriage, etc. Only two spoke of infallibility. Only two spoke of the temporal power. Only one spoke of the Syllabus.

The next step was the appointment in March, 1865, of a commission, composed of Cardinals Patrizi, Reisach, Panebianco, Bizzarri, and Caterini, to weigh all these written opinions, to consider still more carefully the reasons for and against the convocation, and to advise upon the proper mode of proceeding in case the decision should be in the affirmative. The commission judged that the assembling of a council was "relatively necessary" and opportune, and that a Congregation of Direction ought to be appointed to report upon the questions, whether of doctrine or discipline, proper to be treated. In accordance with this recommendation the congregation was accordingly constituted of the five cardinals already named and a number of theologians and canonists selected in Rome and from other nations; and the whole body was divided into four sections, each having its own class of subjects—namely, 1. Doctrine; 2. Political, Ecclesiastical, or Mixed Questions; 3. Missions and the Oriental Churches; 4. Discipline. In April confidential letters were addressed to thirty-six bishops in Europe, selected for their learning and experience, and also to certain bishops in the East, asking their opinions as to the proper matters to be treated. Nearly all replied that the prevalent evil of our time is a universal perversion and confusion of first truths and principles which assail the foundations of truth and the preambles of all belief. They spoke of the nature and existence of God; the divine institution, rights, inde-

pendence, and authority of the Church; the temporal power; socialism, communism, indifferentism, naturalism; Christian marriage; the relations of Church and state, etc. Many proposed the Syllabus as an admirable outline of the work of a council. One and all expressed the greatest delight at the decision to call a council; but the chief object for which Protestant writers believe the fathers of the world were to be assembled—namely, the definition of papal infallibility—was hardly so much as mentioned. "The true motive of the Vatican Council," says Cardinal Manning, "is transparent to all calm and just minds. For three hundred years no general council had been held; for three hundred years the greatest change that has ever come upon the world since its conversion to Christianity had steadily passed upon it. The first period of the Church gradually brought about the union of the spiritual and civil powers of the world in amity and co-operation. The last three hundred years have parted and opposed them to each other. . . . The Church began not with kings but with the peoples of the world, and to the peoples, it may be, the Church will once more return. The princes and governments and legislalatures of the world were everywhere against it at its outset; they are so again. But the hostility of the nineteenth century is keener than the hostility of the first. Then the world had never believed in Christianity; now it is falling from it. But the Church is the same, and can renew its relations

with whatsoever forms of civil life the world is pleased to fashion for itself. If, as political foresight has predicted, all nations are on their way to democracy, the Church will know how to meet this new and strange aspect of the world. The high policy of wisdom by which the pontiffs held together the dynasties of the Middle Age will know how to hold together the peoples who still believe. Such was the world on which Pius IX. was looking out when he conceived the thought of an œcumenical council. He saw the world which was once all Catholic tossed and harassed by the revolt of its intellect against the revelation of God, and of its will against his law; by the revolt of civil society against the sovereignty of God; and by the anti-Christian spirit which is driving on princes and governments towards anti-Christian revolutions. He to whom, in the words of St. John Chrysostom, the whole world was committed, saw in the Council of the Vatican the only adequate remedy for the world-wide evils of the nineteenth century."

The question of calling a council being decided, it remained to determine whether in the existing condition of politics its speedy convocation would be prudent. In November, 1865, the Holy Father asked the advice on this head of the nuncios at Paris, Vienna, Madrid, Munich, and Brussels; and if the times had been favorable it was his intention to open the august assemblage on the centenary of St. Peter, in June, 1867. But the war between Austria and Prussia caused all the preparations to

be suspended. No allusion was made to the council in the letters of invitation to the centenary; and when it was at last announced in the consistory of June 26, 1867, the date was still undetermined. A year later Pius consulted the cardinals as to the expediency of fixing the opening for the 8th of December, 1869, and by their unanimous advice the bull of indiction, convoking the council for that day, was issued on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, June 29, 1868.

It has already been remarked that the formal definition of the infallibility of the Pontiff followed logically from the tendencies of the past few years, and especially from the circumstances attending the three previous assemblies of bishops held in Rome during the pontificate of Pius IX. But if the desires of the believers in the doctrine had not been enough to ensure its promulgation, the opposition of its adversaries would certainly have sufficed for that result. In France the last remnant of the Gallican sentiment found expression in the publications of Bishop Maret, the Abbé Gratry, and some others, while Bishop Dupanloup led a small party which, without questioning the truth of the doctrine, remonstrated against the policy of defining it. The centre of opposition to the dogma was, however, in Munich, where Dr. Döllinger was the head of an unfaithful school which Pius had already marked with the censure of the supreme authority. The anonymous treatise by "Janus" on *The Pope and the Council* appeared

from this source in 1868, and made a profound sensation all over the continent. It attacked the doctrine with historical arguments, and it first put forth the fiction, afterwards repeated by all the anti-Catholic press with its million tongues, that the sole purpose of the council was to declare papal infallibility by acclamation, and that the moving spirit behind it was a Jesuit conspiracy. Conferences were held in France, Belgium, and Germany to organize an opposition. The secular governments were drawn into the plot. In April, 1869, a circular despatch, prepared by Dr. Döllinger, but signed by the Bavarian minister, Prince Hohenlohe, invited the other European powers to combine with Bavaria in resistance to the definition. Italy, by its diplomatic agents, urged the governments to prevent the assembling of the council. Spain threatened the Pope with a hostile league composed of France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Bavaria. Finally, Italy and Bavaria united in a request to the French Government to withdraw its troops from Rome, "in order to ensure the freedom of the council"—in other words, in order to let Victor Emanuel seize the city. An anonymous argument against the opportuneness of defining the papal infallibility appeared in five languages, and was distributed to the bishops by the civil authorities. The newspapers of every country and of every shade of belief, except the true one, began to assail the council in advance. The effect of this wide-spread conspiracy against

the definition was to make its adoption certain. "It was seen at once," says Dr. Manning, "that not only the truth of a doctrine but the independence of the Church was at stake. If the Church should hesitate or give way before an opposition of newspapers and of governments, its office as witness and teacher of revelation would be shaken throughout the world."

The Commission of Direction consisted of five cardinal presidents, eight bishops, and an archbishop as secretary. To it were joined one hundred and two consultors, of whom sixty-nine were secular priests, eight Jesuits, four Dominicans, two Augustinians, and the rest members of other religious orders or congregations. This commission drew up the rules of proceeding, but they were published on the authority of the Pope, the consultors deciding that the regulation of the council belonged to the power which convened it. The commission then prepared *schemata* or drafts of such decrees as it proposed for discussion; it was provided that any bishop desiring to introduce other matter should submit it first to a special commission of twenty-six, whose judgment required the ratification of the Pontiff. The decrees drawn up in advance were six—namely, 1. Schema on Catholic Doctrine against the manifold errors flowing from rationalism; 2. Schema on the Church of Christ; 3. Schema on the Office of Bishops; 4. Schema on the Vacancy of Sees; 5. Schema on the Life and Manners of the Clergy; 6. Schema on the Little

Catechism. The Pope was careful to explain to the bishops by his formal apostolic letter that he had abstained from giving these drafts or *schemata* any sanction; they were submitted for unrestricted discussion, and might all be rejected if the fathers thought fit. Careful arrangements were made to secure the greatest freedom of debate, and the most minute examination both of the original *schemata* and of whatever amendments might be suggested, every point being fully considered both in the general congregation of the bishops and in the appropriate committees. The committees, or "deputations," as they were called, were six in number —namely, 1. On excuses for non-attendance and for leave of absence, 5 members; 2. Grievances and complaints, 5 members; 3. Faith, 24 members; 4. Discipline, 24 members; 5. Regular orders, 24 members; 6. Oriental rites and missions, 24 members. Each of the last four had a cardinal for president, named by the Pope; the members were elected by ballot in the full council. The most important committee was that on Faith; Cardinal Bilio was chairman, and the members comprised 3 bishops from Italy, 2 from France, 2 from Spain, 2 from the United States (Baltimore and San Francisco), 2 from South America, one each from England, Ireland, Hungary, Poland, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Bavaria, Prussia, Switzerland, and India, and the Armenian patriarch.

On the 8th of December, 1869, the Council of the Vatican opened with magnificent ceremony.

The number of the fathers present was seven hundred and twenty-two *—namely, 49 cardinals, 9 patriarchs, 4 primates, 123 archbishops, 480 bishops, 28 abbots, and 29 chiefs of religious orders. Rain fell in torrents, but from an early hour in the morning the church and square of St. Peter were filled with visitors from all parts of the earth, and several royal personages were among the privileged spectators. The sessions were held in the right-hand transept of St. Peter's, which had been divided from the body of the church by a massive partition. Mass was celebrated by Cardinal Patrizi, the *Veni Creator* was sung, and the Holy Father made a short address. Thus began the momentous deliberations which, prolonged for more than eight months, were to "mark this age, as the Council of Nicæa and the Council of Trent now mark in history the fourth and the sixteenth centuries."

The business of the council was transacted in private, and the fathers were pledged to secrecy; but the newspaper press was soon filled with the most exciting reports of scenes within the sacred hall, quarrels among the bishops, and violent attempts of the partisans of infallibility to stifle free discussion. The *Augsburg Gazette* in particular became the receptacle of torrents of mendacity, which were thence distributed all over the world. The most important of the innumerable falsehoods were exposed from time to time by certain of the bishops,

* The number rose afterwards to 766—541 from Europe, 114 from America, 83 from Asia, 14 from Africa, 14 from Oceanica.

and the world has now nearly forgotten them. Whatever vitality they may have retained has perhaps been destroyed by the *True Story* of Cardinal Manning, who was "enabled to attend, with the exception of about three or four days, every session of the council, eighty-nine in number, from the opening to the close," and who bears the most impressive testimony to the "calmness, self-respect, mutual forbearance, courtesy, and self-control" of the venerable assembly, the absolute freedom and great fulness of the debates, and the spirit of charity and devotion which filled the entire body. A fair idea of the thoroughness of the discussions is given by Dr. Manning's detailed account of the passing of the first decree, on the Catholic Faith. The original schema was entirely remodelled, then amended six times in its new shape, referred again and again from general congregation to committee, and from committee back again to general congregation, and finally adopted unanimously after 364 separate amendments had been examined and voted on, and four months' time had been spent in the labor. The first dogmatic constitution, "Of the Catholic Faith," was thus formally adopted in the third "public session" of the council, April 24, 1870, when 667 votes were cast.

In preparing the second schema, on the Church of Christ, the Commission of Direction was obliged to consider the question of infallibility, and on the 11th of February, 1869, it reached the questions, first, "whether the infallibility of the Roman Pon-

tiff *can* be defined as an article of faith"; and, secondly, "whether it *ought* to be defined." To the first the commission replied unanimously in the affirmative. Respecting the second they decided, with one dissenting voice, "that this subject ought not to be proposed by the Apostolic See except at the petition of the bishops." When the schema on the Church was introduced, therefore, it contained no definition of the doctrine of infallibility. But a large majority of the bishops believed that the definition was necessary in view of what had taken place outside the council, and they consequently resorted to the regular course of presenting a petition to the Commission of Postulates, asking that a chapter on the subject of infallibility should be added to the schema. The petition, drawn up by a few of the bishops in an informal meeting, received four hundred and fifty signatures. In the meantime the opposition circulated a petition against the introduction of the subject, and this received about one hundred names. Both sides gave a summary of their reasons. "Once for all," says Cardinal Manning, "let it be said that the question whether the infallibility of the head of the Church be a true doctrine or not was never discussed in the council, nor even proposed to it. The only question was whether it was expedient, prudent, seasonable, and timely, regard being had to the condition of the world, of the nations of Europe, of the Christians in separation from the Church, to put this truth in the form of a definition." "A grave injus-

tice has been done to the bishops who opposed the definition. The world outside the Church, not believing in infallibility, claimed them as its own. They were treated as if they denied the truth of the doctrine itself. Their opposition was not to the doctrine, but to the *defining* of it; and not even absolutely to the defining of it, but to the defining of it *at this time*. . . . They who were in the council may be permitted to bear witness to what they heard and know. Not five bishops in the council could be justly thought to have opposed the truth of the doctrine. This is the testimony of one who heard the whole discussion, and never heard an explicit denial of its truth."

The petitions were duly presented to the Commission of Postulates on the 9th of February, 1870, and the commission decided, with hardly any dissent, that a new chapter on infallibility should be introduced. The petition of the four hundred and fifty had been immediately printed in the *Augsburg Gazette*, and a storm of opposition broke forth. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs on the 20th of February addressed to Rome a diplomatic protest against the declaration, alleging that it involved the extension of infallibility to facts of history, philosophy, and science external to revelation, as well as the absolute subordination to ecclesiastical authority of the constituent principles of civil society, the rights and duties of citizenship, and in general all the rights of the state; and he asked "how it could have been imagined that princes would lower

their sovereignty before the supremacy of the court of Rome." Cardinal Antonelli, in answering this extraordinary communication, exposed its misrepresentations of the character and significance of the proposed definition, and pertinently reminded the count that the doctrines of which he complained were no more than the exposition of the maxims and fundamental principles of the Church, repeated over and over again in bulls, pontifical constitutions, and the acts of councils, taught in all Catholic schools and defended by a host of ecclesiastical writers.

One day, when the clamor against the council was at its height, the Holy Father said: "I have just been warned that if the council persist in making this definition the protection of the French army will be withdrawn." And then after a pause he added, with great calmness: "As if the unworthy Vicar of Jesus Christ could be swayed by such motives as these!"

The new chapter on infallibility was distributed to the council on the 7th of March, and eighteen days were allowed for the submission of amendments. The general discussion on the schema of the Primacy, whereof the question of infallibility formed the fourth chapter, did not begin until the 14th of May, and it lasted through fourteen sessions. By that time sixty-four had spoken; the argument was evidently exhausted, and the opposition began to appear factious. According to the regulations of the council, the presiding cardinal, on the peti-

tion of ten bishops, might take the sense of the whole body whether the discussion should close. A petition signed not by ten, but by ten or fifteen times ten, was made to this end, and the general debate was stopped by the vote of an immense majority. Then came the special discussions on the introduction to the schema and on each of its four chapters. The fourth chapter, on infallibility, was reached on the 15th of June, and occupied eleven sessions, during which fifty-seven bishops spoke and ninety-six amendments were offered. After all the chapters had been adopted singly the whole schema was put to the decisive vote on the 13th of July. There were 601 fathers present; 451 voted *placet*, or "ay"; 88 *non placet*, or "no"; and 62 *placet juxta modum*, or "ay, with modifications." This involved the examination of more written amendments, to the number of one hundred and sixty-five, and on the 16th the schema was again put to the vote and passed.

It remained now to formally promulgate the decree in public session. There were many reasons why this last act in the great work should be hastened. A number of the bishops had been compelled by illness to return home; others were sick in Rome; the summer heats were severe and dangerous; more than all, the political situation was full of menace, the definitive rupture between France and Prussia having occurred on the 14th of July, when both Powers recalled their ambassadors. On the 15th the Archbishop of Bordeaux

waited upon the Holy Father to beg, in the name of several of the French prelates, that he would complete the definition at once. On the stairs he met the Primate of Hungary, with the archbishops of Paris, Munich, and Milan, the Bishop of Dijon, and Bishop Ketteler of Mayence, who came to petition for a delay or a modification of the decree, which they still regarded as inopportune in the existing condition of society. This double demonstration must have convinced the Holy Father, if perchance he was in doubt, that the controversy ought to be promptly closed. He replied that the circumstances would not admit of delay, and that modifications were impossible. The 18th was accordingly appointed for the fourth public session of the council and the promulgation of the dogmatic constitution "Of the Church of Christ," including the infallibility of the Pontiff. On the previous evening fifty five bishops of the opposition, unwilling to assent to the prudence or usefulness of the definition, but still not attacking the doctrine, signed a paper announcing their intention not to appear at the public session. It was believed that they left Rome.

The fathers assembled at nine o'clock on the morning of the 18th in the hall of the council, whose wide doors on this occasion, as at the other public sessions, were thrown open. Mass being over, the Pope entered, attended by the officers of his court, and took his place on the throne. The customary prayers and the Litany of the Saints were

chanted. The *Veni Creator* was sung by the fathers and people together. Then the dogmatic constitution was read aloud, closing with these words:

"We teach and define it to be a doctrine divinely revealed that when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra* —that is, when in the exercise of his office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, and in virtue of his supreme apostolical authority, he defines that a doctrine of faith or morals is to be held by the universal Church—he possesses, through the divine assistance promised to him in the Blessed Peter, that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wished his Church to be endowed in defining a doctrine of faith or morals; and, therefore, that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church."

The name of every bishop was called in turn; 535 were present; 533 voted *placet;* 2 only voted *non placet.* As the roll began, a furious storm burst over Rome, and peals of thunder mingled with the declarations of the fathers. The Pontiff confirmed the decree in the usual form, whereat there rose from the lips of the bishops within the hall and the multitude in the open church a murmur of approbation which swelled by degrees to a shout of "*Viva Pio Nono, Papa infallibile!*" In a short allocution the Holy Father prayed that the few who had been of another mind in the time of storm might, in a season of calm and "in the gentle air," be reunited to the great majority of their brethren. His prayer was granted. All the bishops of the opposition gave their adhesion to the decree, and the schism of the "Old Catholics," under Dr. Döllinger, was

of too little consequence to be counted a misfortune, except for the handful of disaffected philosophers who took part in it. The session closed with the *Te Deum,* in which the chorus of the populace drowned the voices of the papal choir.

The work of the council was not complete; but the inconveniences of a longer stay in Rome were so serious to most of the bishops that the sessions were prorogued for the rest of the summer. Before the holiday came to an end the Pope ceased to be master of Rome, and the council, never dissolved, has never yet been able to reassemble.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SEIZURE OF ROME.

FOUR days after the solemn scene described in the last chapter Pius addressed the King of Prussia and the Emperor of the French in the vain hope of averting the impending war. His letter to the emperor has never been published, neither has the emperor's reply, but we have the correspondence with the German king. "Vicar of Christ on earth," wrote the Holy Father, "I cannot do less than offer my mediation. It is that of a sovereign who, in his quality as king, can excite no one's jealousy, since his territory is so small, but who, nevertheless, may inspire confidence by the moral and religious influence which he personifies." "Holy Pontiff," replied the king, "I have not been surprised but profoundly moved in reading the touching words traced by your hand in the name of the God of peace. How can my heart remain insensible to such a powerful appeal? God is my witness that this war was provoked neither by me nor by my people. If your Holiness could offer me, on the part of the power which has so unexpectedly declared war, the assurance of sincerely pacific dis-

positions, and guarantees against the renewal of such a violation of the peace and tranquillity of Europe, I certainly would not hesitate to accept them from your venerable hands, united as I am to your Holiness by the ties of Christian charity and sincere friendship." Later, when France was nearly crushed by the reverses of the campaign, the Pope renewed his efforts for peace. While the government of the National Defence was established at Tours, he instructed the archbishop of that city to use all his influence against the useless prolongation of the war, and at the same time he sent Archbishop Ledochowski to Versailles to counsel moderation to the victors.

Meanwhile, the four or five thousand French troops left in Rome after the last Garibaldian invasion had been promptly withdrawn by Napoleon, not because he supposed he wanted them—for when he gave the order he was just setting out "with a light heart" on his march to ruin—but because he wished to please the Italian Government. "The political necessity is evident," wrote M. de Gramont; "we must conciliate the good dispositions of the cabinet of Florence." Deceived in everything, victim always of his own intrigues, Napoleon trusted to an alliance with Italy against the Prussians; he gave up the Pope as the price of it, and he got nothing in return. Italy took the bribe, and then attached herself immediately to the other side. The troops embarked at Civita Vecchia on the 2d and 4th of August. Fighting began between the

French and Prussians on the 2d, and the French met the first of their long series of defeats at Weissembourg on the 4th.

The Italian Government lost no time in tearing the Turin convention to fragments and marching in at the door which Napoleon had left open. First came the usual complaint that the Papacy constituted a hostile government in the midst of the kingdom, a focus of disorder, a constant danger to the state. Then, on the 8th of September, Victor Emanuel sent a letter to the Pope by the hands of Count Ponza di San Martino, and at the same time the Italian troops prepared for the invasion of the pontifical territory. "Most Holy Father," wrote the king, "with the affection of a son, with the faith of a Catholic, with the loyalty of a king, with the sentiment of an Italian, I address myself again, as I have had to do before, to the heart of your Holiness. A storm full of perils menaces Europe. The party of the international revolution grows bolder and more audacious, and is preparing, especially in Italy and in the provinces governed by your Holiness, the last blows against monarchy and the popedom. I find it imperatively necessary, for the security of Italy and the Holy See, that my troops already guarding the frontiers shall advance and occupy the positions indispensable for the security of your Holiness and the maintenance of order. Let me hope that in satisfying the national aspirations your Holiness, as the chief of Catholicity, surrounded by the devotion of the Italian

populations, will preserve on the banks of the Tiber a see glorious and independent of all human sovereignty. In delivering Rome from foreign troops your Holiness will have accomplished a marvellous work and restored peace to the Church."

The Count di San Martino was admitted to an audience, which cannot have been of the most agreeable character. He spoke of guarantees for the independence of the Church. "And who will guarantee me your guarantees?" exclaimed Pius. "Your king is king no longer. He can promise nothing. He is the servant of his parliament, and parliament is the servant of the secret societies; and they will cast the king down when they have no further use for him. Go, count; I will give you my answer to-morrow. I am too deeply moved with sorrow and indignation to write at present." The answer, dated on the 11th of September, was as follows:

"YOUR MAJESTY: By Count Ponza di San Martino a letter has been presented to me which your majesty has been pleased to address to me, but which is not worthy of an affectionate son who boasts of professing the Catholic faith. Into the details of that letter I do not enter, lest I should renew the pain which its first perusal caused me. I bless God, who has permitted your majesty to bring to a climax of bitterness the closing period of my life. As for the rest, I cannot admit certain demands nor conform myself to certain principles contained in your letter. Again I invoke God and remit to his hands my cause, which is altogether his own. I pray him to grant many graces to your majesty, to free

you from dangers, and afford you the mercies which you need."

But the king had not waited for the answer. On that day the Italian army, sixty thousand strong, had crossed the frontier, and, under the command of General Cadorna, was already marching straight towards Rome.

The news of the interview with Count Ponza di San Martino on the 10th, and the drift of his message as well as of the answer, spread rapidly throughout the city. On the same afternoon the Pope was to inaugurate a new public fountain, and the whole population seemed to be in the streets, as if to offer a special testimonial of respect and affection. The festival in itself was nothing more than Rome was used to, but the serious circumstances of the day made it unusually impressive. "Never," wrote a French diplomatist, "have I seen a demonstration so ardent and so spontaneous. The Holy Father was calm and smiling, and no one could detect upon the countenance of the noble old man a trace of those thoughts which must have saddened his heart. I came home deeply affected by all that I had seen, and never shall I forget the fête of the inauguration of the Acqua Marcia." On the same day the Pope gave audience to a number of the Papal Zouaves from Canada. "My children," said he, "we have two enemies—one without, against whom we can promise only one thing, to do our duty; the other within, whom we can always overcome, if we will, by the grace of

God. This latter is the only one we need fear. Fear sin, then, my children; and for the rest, what matters it? Nothing happens but what our dear Lord wills."

A *triduum* was ordered at St. Peter's to beg the divine mercy upon the city of Rome. The French observer whom I have just quoted writes of the last day: "We have all seen and admired the glorious ceremonies of Christmas and Easter in this great basilica of St. Peter, but what are they by the side of the humble demonstration of the *triduum* on the 15th of September, 1870? All Rome was there, kneeling on the pavement of the church and chanting the litanies, of which the Pope intoned each versicle. It is the truest manifestation of the Catholic faith that I have ever been allowed to witness, and we all felt ourselves moved to the bottom of our hearts while listening to the strong voice of the old Pope, begging of Heaven to protect the city of Rome and to bless its inhabitants."

Arms were secretly distributed by the Italian authorities within the city, and every device was employed to provoke a rising, but in vain. The Prussian ambassador, Baron von Arnim, who had been going back and forth between Rome and the Italian headquarters, openly took sides against the Pope, and even invited the diplomatic body to sign an address advising his Holiness to yield—a proposal which all the ministers emphatically rejected. On the 19th of September Cadorna appeared before the walls and gave notice that the bombard-

ment would open the following morning. All the pontifical troops, to the number of about ten thousand, had gradually been called in, and General Kanzler made the best dispositions possible for at least a formal defence. The following letter was addressed to him by the Holy Father on the 19th:

"GENERAL: Now that a great sacrilege and an enormous injustice is about to be perpetrated, and the soldiers of a Catholic monarch, without provocation, without even the appearance of excuse, are assembled to besiege the capital of the Catholic world, I feel, in the first place, the necessity of thanking you, general, and all our troops, for your generous conduct up to the present moment, for your marks of affection towards the Holy See, and your readiness to consecrate yourselves entirely to the defence of this metropolis. Let these words be a solemn document to testify the discipline, valor, and loyalty of the troops in the service of the Holy See.

"With regard, however, to the duration of the defence, it is my duty to command that the resistance consist only of a protest sufficient—and no more—to establish the fact of violence. As soon as a breach is effected negotiations must be opened for the surrender of the city. At a moment when all Europe deplores the numerous victims of a war between two great nations it must not be said that the Vicar of Christ, however unjustly assailed, has consented to a great effusion of blood. Our cause is the cause of God, and to his hands we commit all our defence.

"From my heart, general, I give my benediction to you and to all our troops.'

Having despatched these orders, Pius went for

the last time to pray in the basilica of St. John Lateran and the chapel of the Scala Santa. He made on his knees the painful ascent of the twenty-eight marble steps from the judgment-hall of Pilate, and, having spent some time in devotion in the little sanctuary at the top, he returned, followed by the acclamations of an affectionate multitude, to the Vatican, which he was never afterwards to leave.

He had requested all the members of the diplomatic body to go to him as soon as the firing began. Accordingly, at the first sound of the artillery on the morning of the 20th, all the ministers except Baron von Arnim assembled in the throne-room of the Vatican. Many of the cardinals were there, the heads of religious orders, the prelates, and a number of the Roman nobility. The Pope came out of his apartments at seven o'clock, and invited the ambassadors to be present at his Mass, which he celebrated in his private chapel in the midst of the noise of the cannonade and of bursting shells, which fell even in the gardens of the Vatican. During the Mass the Litany of the Blessed Virgin was intoned by the cardinals. After Mass chocolate and ices were served to the guests, according to the Roman custom, while the Pope retired to his oratory. At nine o'clock, having heard a second Mass and finished his prayers of thanksgiving, he received the ambassadors in his study. Baron von Arnim had now joined his colleagues. The habitual sweetness of the Holy Father's countenance was overshadowed by a profound sadness;

his speech was slow and solemn; his manner was indescribably impressive. He addressed a few kindly words to each of the ministers individually. Then, sitting by his table, and inviting them all to sit around him, he talked for an hour in a familiar strain, losing himself occasionally in intervals of silence and abstraction, and turning involuntarily from time to time towards the windows, through which one could see the smoke of the bombardment. He commended to the care of the ambassadors the Papal Zouaves, who were about to become prisoners, and begged their excellencies to obtain from the Italian general the most favorable terms for these gallant soldiers. "And my poor Canadians!" he suddenly exclaimed, "who will protect them?" He recalled many events of his past life, even repeated some of the incidents of his voyage to Chili. "Once before now the diplomatic body has assembled around me under circumstances something like these. That was at the Quirinal. I remember that there was not enough food in the palace to furnish dinner for all, and we sent around to the apartments of the *camerieri segreti* who lodged at the Quirinal to collect whatever they had. The cook made a soup of these gatherings —a sort of Spanish *olla podrida.*

"Yesterday I was at the spot where Christ was condemned. I mounted the *Scala Santa;* it was a hard ascent, and I had to have a support, but I reached the top. These are the steps which our Lord trod when he went to judgment. In going up

I said to myself: Perhaps to-morrow I, too, shall be judged by the Catholics of Italy. *Filii matris meæ pugnaverunt contra me.* I have need of great strength, and God gives it to me. *Deo gratias!*

"The students of the American College have asked leave to fight for me, but I have thanked them and told them to devote themselves to the care of the wounded.

"Yesterday, in returning from the *Scala Santa*, I saw all the flags which have been hung out in Rome as a protection. There were English, American, German, and even Turkish flags. Prince Doria displayed the English colors—I am sure I do not know why. When I returned from Gaeta I saw multitudes of flags hung along the route in my honor. Now it is different; it is not for me that these are flying.

"Bixio, the famous Bixio, is with the Italian army. He is a general in these days. When he was a republican he intended to throw the Pope and the cardinals into the Tiber as soon as he entered Rome. In winter that would not be pleasant; in summer it would not be quite the same. It is not the flower of society which accompanies the Italians when they attack the father of all Catholics. We have here a repetition in a small way of what the young Romans did who repaired to the camp of Cæsar after the crossing of the Rubicon. The Rubicon is crossed now. 'Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.'"

At this point an officer of Gen. Kanzler's staff

arrived with the news that after a severe cannonade a practicable breach had been made near the Porta Pia. The ambassadors retired, and left the Holy Father alone with Cardinal Antonelli. In a few moments they were recalled. There were tears in the Pope's eyes, and he spoke as follows:

"I have just given the order to capitulate. Defence is impossible any longer without a great sacrifice of life, and to that I will not consent. I do not speak to you of myself; it is not for myself that I weep, but for these poor children who came to defend me as their father. You will take care each of his own countrymen. There are all nations among them; there are French especially. Do not forget, I pray, the English and Canadians, who have no one here to represent them. I commend them all to you, that you may protect them from the ill treatment which others have had to endure during the past years. I release my soldiers from their oath of fidelity, and leave them perfectly free. As for the conditions of the capitulation, you must see Gen. Kanzler, with whom everything is to be arranged."

The Italian army, entering by the Porta Pia, was followed by a large number of civilians represented to be political exiles returning to their country. An eye-witness belonging to the diplomatic body thus describes the scene: "I followed this body of men composed of three or four thousand revolutionists, recruited in every corner of Italy. It marched in pretty good order, and without shouting, through

the whole length of the Via di Porta Pia; but when they reached the piazza of the Quirinal those newly arrived were joined by their brethren and friends in Rome, commanded by a certain Marquis del Gallo, brother of the man who married one of the Bonaparte family. The emigrants learned then that they had nothing more to fear from the pontifical soldiers, who were prisoners guarded by the Italian army. All danger having disappeared, each one took out of his pocket a tricolor cockade and a small flag, and the whole body of them, shouting and vociferating, directed their steps towards the Capitol, according to the requirements of revolutionary tradition. I was still on the piazza of the Quirinal watching this comedy when I saw a personage arrive on horseback, all bedizened with gold and decorations, before whom the crowd was respectfully bowing; it was the Baron von Arnim returning from the Villa Albani [Cadorna's headquarters], and having made also his triumphant entry by the breach, mounted on the horse of an Italian soldier. 'Behold,' said I to myself, 'the compact sealed between Prussia and the Italian revolution.' In the Corso I found again my own Paris of the great days of the revolution; nothing was wanting to complete the picture—men with sinister faces armed with muskets taken from the pontifical prisoners, others armed with pikes and daggers, then demonstrations, cries—in short, a genuine revolutionary orgie." *

* *Les Piémontais à Rome.* Par Henry d'Ideville. Paris.

The prisoners, after marching out with the honors of war, the officers retaining their side-arms, were massed for the day in the Leonine City, or that part of Rome on the south side of the Tiber, including St. Peter's and the Vatican; thence they were to be transported on the 21st to Civita Vecchia—the foreigners to be sent home, the Romans to be removed in custody to Naples and Turin. When the time came for their departure the zouaves in the piazza of St. Peter drew themselves up in a solid square, and Colonel Alet, placing himself at their head, waved his sword with the cry, "Long live Pius IX., Pontiff and King!" The cry was taken up all along the ranks; hats were thrown up; *vivas* rent the air; a crowd of citizens who surrounded the troops and filled the balconies and windows of the neighboring houses joined in the enthusiastic cheers, and added to the picturesque aspect of the stirring scene by the waving of handkerchiefs. The Holy Father appeared at the window of his bedchamber, and, throwing it open, stood there for a moment with his white head bare and his hands lifted in benediction. But he could hardly pronounce the words. Overcome by emotion, his voice choked and he fell back in the arms of his attendants.

General Kanzler, accompanied by his wife and Father Vannutelli, found him shortly afterwards, solitary and with bowed head, pacing the famous rooms enriched by the frescoes of Raphael. "He seemed to be suffering and exhausted to a remarkable

degree," said Father Vannutelli, "but the expression of his face remained calm and full of goodness. He spoke to my sister, who burst into tears, and questioned her about the hospital, where she had passed the previous day, about the wounded, their number, the extent of their injuries, and their wants. 'Poor children!' he exclaimed, 'may Heaven reward them. This is a great crime; the punishment will fall upon the heads of those who have committed it!'"

For two or three days Rome was given up to disorder. In the bombardment sixteen pontifical soldiers had been killed and fifty-eight wounded; after the surrender as many as eighty persons—zouaves, priests, gendarmes, and others—are said to have been assassinated in the streets of Rome. Romans who had fought for the Pope were treated with outrageous indignity. Houses were pillaged and burned. "*Lasciate il popolo sfogarsi*," said Cadorna—"Let the people tire themselves out." The Leonine City was not occupied at first by the Italians; it was left without either soldiers or police, and on the 22d a mob of Garibaldians, led by a brother of one of the criminals who blew up the barracks in 1867, tried to force an entrance to the Vatican. The pontifical gendarmes repulsed them, and one of the guards was killed. Cardinal Antonelli thereupon requested Baron von Arnim to demand of General Cadorna the preservation of public order.

On the 2d of October the conquerors ordered a

plebiscitum on the question of the annexation of Rome to the kingdom of Italy. For some days previous a stream of voters, professing to be returned exiles, poured into Rome from all parts of Italy, the Government compelling the railway companies to transport gratuitously all who presented themselves with tickets supplied by any of the prefects or sub-prefects of the kingdom. The figures of the poll, as announced by official authority, declared that 40,785 voted yes, and 46 no! And yet there were some thousands of civil functionaries, besides the whole body of the clergy, who were necessarily opposed to annexation; the entire Roman nobility, with a very few exceptions, was devoted to the papal authority, and remains so to this day; a large proportion of the lower and middle classes have always been *papalini;* and the clerks and other employees in Government offices, museums, libraries, schools, colleges, almost all threw up their situations rather than take the oath of allegiance to Victor Emanuel. Under these circumstances the figures of the official declaration speak for themselves; the plebiscitum was fraudulent on its face. Nevertheless, Rome was promptly declared annexed to the kingdom of Italy, although it was promised in the royal decree that the Pontiff should retain "the dignity the inviolability, and all the prerogatives of sovereignty," and that a special law should provide guarantees for his independence and the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the Holy See. The act afterwards passed by the Italian Par-

liament, in accordance with this promise, and known as the Law of the Guarantees, declares that

"1. The person of the Sovereign Pontiff is sacred and inviolable.

"2. Any attempt against the person of the Sovereign Pontiff, or provocation to commit the same, shall be punished with the same penalties as attempts against the person of the king. The offences and insults publicly committed directly against the person of the Pontiff by speeches or acts, or by the means indicated by the first article of the law concerning the press, to be punished with the same penalties fixed by the nineteenth article of the same law.

"3. The Italian Government pays to the Sovereign Pontiff within the territory of the kingdom the sovereign honors and pre-eminences accorded to him by Catholic sovereigns.

"4. There is set apart in favor of the Holy See the sum of 3,225,090 lire annually [about $645,000].*

"5. The Sovereign Pontiff, in addition to the allowance established by the preceding article, shall continue in the enjoyment of the apostolic palaces of the Vatican and the Lateran, with all the buildings, gardens, and lands which belong to them, as well as the villa of Castel Gandolfo with its appurtenances and dependencies."

There are also elaborate provisions for the free intercourse between the Pontiff and the episcopate, and the free exercise by the clergy of their spiritual functions. But to say nothing of the inherent vice of the Law of Guarantees that it offered to the Holy Father as a favor a small part of what was all his by right, it was an illusive pledge which has

* The Pope never accepted any part of this allowance.

been broken over and over again, and is likely to be still more flagrantly violated if it is not wholly repealed. It does not even recognize the church's ownership of the little corner of Rome still occupied by the papal court. It allows the Pontiff to "enjoy" the Vatican, but it claims for the Italian Government the proprietorship of that palace as well as of St. Peter's. And I need hardly say that the pretence of suppressing "insults" against the person of the Pope has been from the outset an affront to common sense. The Italian press, and the speeches of public orators, and the debates in the Italian Parliament have teemed with vilification, outrage, and blasphemy.

Almost the first act of the new rulers of Rome was to confiscate the property of all ecclesiastical bodies and foundations whatsoever, save a very few which were exempted by name. This left nearly the whole body of the clergy destitute, and cut off the sole support of the churches and the parish priests. Next came the suppression of all religious orders; 50,000 persons were thus turned into the street without the means of subsistence. The clergy were pressed into the army. Convents, churches, charitable and religious institutions were seized and sold, or converted to the uses of the Government. Schools were broken up; education was secularized. The revenues of most of the bishops throughout the whole kingdom were cut off, and the support of the Italian episcopate was thrown upon the Sovereign Pontiff. The spirit of

the Italian laws and the Italian administration was thoroughly and in everything anti-Catholic and anti-Christian. All religious processions were prohibited. The chapels and crosses which pious hands had erected in the Colosseum to commemorate the martyrs of the first centuries were torn down, and the name of Christ was chiselled off the façade of the Roman College. Vice, violence, sacrilege, atheism everywhere followed in the track of the Piedmontese armies. They carried riot into the very churches. It was impossible that the Sovereign Pontiff should walk the streets of desecrated Rome, exposing himself to the affronts of a hostile multitude or the compromising protection of a usurping police. Nor is it at all certain that his person would have been safe. Two months after the capture of Rome Monsignor de Mérode, chancing to show himself at one of the balconies of the Vatican, was ordered back by one of the king's soldiers on guard below, who pointed his musket at him. At a later day a crowd, assembled in the piazza on the occasion of a festival, caught a momentary glimpse of the white figure of the Pope as he passed before a window. Instantly a cry of exultation burst forth; the square filled as if by magic, everybody shouting *Viva Pio Nono!* when the troops charged upon the populace and drove them from the piazza, arresting, among other persons, several ladies of high social position. Having made formal protests against the invasion first in diplomatic letters, and then in a vigorous allocu-

tion, the Holy Father was compelled to choose between exile from Rome and a virtual imprisonment in the Vatican, none the less real because he was restrained by moral bonds rather than bars and chains. He decided to remain. The reason of his choice was beautifully explained by himself to Cardinal de Bonnechose, Archbishop of Rouen. "I wish," said he to the cardinal one evening, after a private audience, "to give you a souvenir." It was a little painting on ivory, set in gold, and representing a legend of St. Peter. "This," said Pius, "has been the frequent subject of my meditations for several years. When the Prince of the Apostles was fleeing from persecution at Rome he met not far from the gate of St. Sebastian the figure of our Lord carrying his cross and bowed with sadness. *Domine, quo vadis?*—'Lord, whither goest thou?'—cried Peter. 'I go to Rome,' said Jesus Christ, 'to be crucified again in thy place, because thou lackest courage.' Peter understood, and remained at Rome. I shall do the same; for if I were to quit the Eternal City at this moment it seems to me that our Lord would make to me the same reproach. Perhaps the story is at bottom only a pious legend, but for me it is a definite instruction."

CHAPTER XVIII.

IN THE VATICAN.

IN the seclusion of the Vatican the life and character of Pius IX. seemed more beautiful than ever. His firmness and courage increased with the growing hostility of the world; his benign and loving disposition was only sweetened by trials. A charm, always fresh, irradiated his serene countenance. He grew more and more fascinating in the eyes of men as he daily drew closer to God. The simple habits which he had established at the beginning of his pontificate were continued to the end. In the palace of eleven thousand rooms he reserved only two for his own use. The small sleeping-chamber had a bare stone floor, an iron bedstead, a hard mattress, a prie-dieu, and little or nothing else. The cabinet, or study, was furnished with equal plainness, and its walls were hung with common paper. He rose summer and winter at half-past five, shaved himself, and then went to his private oratory, where he spent half an hour before the Blessed Sacrament. Then he said Mass. Afterwards he heard a second Mass, and remained for some time in thanksgiving. If he was prevented by sickness from offering the Holy Sacrifice, one of

his chaplains always celebrated in his presence and gave him communion. About nine he took a cup of black coffee or a little thin soup. The rest of the morning was devoted to work, either alone or with the cardinal-prefects of congregations, who conferred with him on set days about the affairs of the universal Church. General audiences, to which almost any respectable person could obtain admission by introduction, were held about noon. A little exercise in the garden sometimes followed, the physicians strictly requiring him to take the air at least twice a day. So imperatively was this rule demanded by the condition of his health that in his latter years, when a humor in the leg often made him too lame to walk, a small carriage was bought and he was driven around the garden. He dined at two o'clock, having previously made a short visit to the Blessed Sacrament. The meal, which he took alone, according to the rigid etiquette of the Roman court, seldom lasted more than twenty minutes, and consisted of soup, a bit of the beef that had been boiled in it, one other dish of meat, one dish of vegetables, and fruit. According to the universal Italian custom, he mingled a little wine with the water that he drank at dinner; it was a common white wine, bought from day to day in Rome, for he kept no cellar; but towards the close of his life he used sometimes to take at the end of dinner, if he were more fatigued than usual, a small glass of claret, of a special vintage which the Sisters of St. Joseph at Bordeaux produced for him and called

by his name. The delicacies sent to him all found their way to the hospitals. Somebody persuaded him to try the liqueur of the Grande Chartreuse. He laughed, and, putting down the glass unfinished, said: "It is an excellent liqueur—for the stomach of a trooper." Dinner was followed by a siesta of fifteen minutes, after which he read the breviary, said the rosary, and walked again either in the garden or the galleries of the Vatican. One of his favorite resorts at this hour was a beautiful alley shaded by orange-trees, where the pigeons used to feed from his hand. He delighted to show himself quicker of foot than the cardinals who bore him company, and it was one of his pleasantries to speak of the excellent Cardinal Patrizi, who was four years his junior, as "that old man." One day the Pope and three of the cardinals were discovered playing hide-and-seek in the garden with a little boy, the brother of one of the Noble Guards.

From five to nine he worked and gave audiences to private and official personages. Cardinal Antonelli, the Secretary of State, had apartments at the Vatican, and others were constantly there during working hours on business connected with their congregations. Supper, consisting of soup, two boiled potatoes, and a little fruit, was served at nine; and at ten, after reciting the office and visiting the Blessed Sacrament again, the Pope retired to his chamber —not always to sleep, for it is known that he often gave up a part of the night to prayer. Such was the calm and gentle outward course of the last years

of this life of battles. Some one congratulated him on his peace of soul. "Nevertheless," said he, "I am not made of wood." Sometimes, when the gates of St. Peter's were closed for the night, he repaired to the deserted basilica, and stood in meditation before the famous statue of St. Peter, or prostrated himself in silent prayer at the tomb of the apostle, where Canova's marble figure of Pius VI. kneels in perpetual supplication. But from the day of the entrance of the Italian troops into Rome the magnificence of the papal ceremonial at St. Peter's vanished, and the Pope never appeared publicly in his own church.

Many attempts were made by the Italian Government to establish relations with the Vatican, in order to secure at least an indirect and apparent sanction of the occupation of Rome, but the Pope repulsed all such insincere advances. He would do nothing to compromise the claims of the Holy See. He refused audiences to all the messengers who came to him from time to time on the part of the king, and he never would consent that any diplomatic representative should be accredited both to the Vatican and the Quirinal.

One morning, at the early hour of seven, the Emperor of Brazil, who was then the guest of Victor Emanuel, presented himself unexpectedly at the Vatican while the Pope was saying Mass, and asked for an audience. He was introduced as soon as possible. "What can I do to serve your majesty?" asked Pius.

"Holy Father, I beg you not to call me majesty; here I am only the Count of Alcantara."

"Well, my dear count, what will you have of me?"

"I wish your Holiness to let me present his majesty the King of Italy."

The Pope rose, and answered with energy and indignation: "It is useless to hold such language with me. Let the King of Piedmont abjure his evil deeds and restore my states; then I will consent to see him, but not before."

The Prince and Princess of Wales, who visited the Pope in 1872, showed more tact and better breeding than the eccentric Brazilian. They had the good taste to decline the use of Victor Emanuel's carriages and horses for their ride to the Vatican. The conversation of the Pope and Prince is said to have been long, animated, and agreeable. "I respect the English," said the Holy Father, "for they are more religious at heart than many who call themselves Catholics; when they return some day to the fold, how gladly we shall welcome this flock which has strayed but is not lost!"

The Prince and Princess smiled, and gently shook their heads.

"Ah! my children," continued the Pontiff, "the future is always full of surprises. Who would have imagined two years ago that we should see a Prussian army in France? Your wisest heads expected a thousand times sooner to see the Pope at Malta than Louis Napoleon in London. I am much

happier than those who call themselves the masters of Rome, because I have no fears for my dynasty. God takes care of it. I may be driven away for a while; but when your children and your grandchildren come to visit Rome, whatever may be the temporal possessions of the Pope at that time, they will see, as you do to-day, an old man dressed in white pointing out the road to heaven."

He received Protestants with great kindness, yet sometimes with a frank and dignified assertion of authority which must have impressed and could hardly offend them. "My child," said he to a young minister from Berlin, "you and I ought to be friends, for we are sons of the same Father and sharers in the same heritage. See, there is only one Lord, one faith, one baptism; that is what is called Catholic unity, outside of which there is only confusion and there is no salvation. It is the misfortune of Protestants to be outside. Not that salvation is impossible among them; there are some who will reach heaven because they have lived in invincible ignorance (ask the theologians here what that means) and their lives have been pious. They belong to the Church without knowing it. But it is hard to err in good faith here in Rome in the focus of evangelical light. As for yourself, my dear child, seek truth with a generous heart. I say with a generous heart, for you need to seek it with the heart even more than with the intellect. You will find it. Be assured that I will help you with my prayers. But, in your turn, do

you pray for the Pope, and so we shall help each other."

All who presented themselves at the audiences were, of course, expected to conform to the etiquette of the court, and Protestants who were guilty of deliberate rudeness, as now and then some were received a pointed rebuke. A tutor employed in the family of Sir Augustus Paget, the British diplomatic representative at Rome, ostentatiously remained seated at a general audience when all the guests were expected to kneel. The Pope turned to him and said: "My friend, you are not obliged to come here, but if you do come you must observe the proprieties, whatever sect you belong to." The Englishman, too proud or too obstinate to submit, left the hall. Sir Augustus Paget dismissed him as soon as he heard of the impertinence. The Holy Father's rebuke of two English ladies who refused to kneel when he approached them was somewhat different. He took no notice of the breach of etiquette at the time, and treated them with his customary suavity, but in his closing address he said: "I will now give you my blessing, and, if there are any here who do not value the blessing of an old man, I invoke for them the blessing of Almighty God." The two ladies dropped upon their knees. To certain clergymen of the English High-Church party, who seemed indisposed to follow their principles to the logical conclusion, he said: "You are like the bells which call the faithful to church, but never enter."

It often happened that a majority of the guests at an audience were English and American travellers. On one of these occasions, after speaking to each in turn, he came to an English lady, young and very timid, and asked where she was born.

"I am twenty-four," she replied, too much embarrassed to understand the question.

"I did not ask your age, but your country," said the Pope with a smile.

But her confusion only increased. She fell at his feet, sobbing, and cried: "O Holy Father! forgive me, please forgive me. I have told a lie; I am more than twenty-four—I am twenty-five years and two months and a half."

The Pope raised her up, and, repressing the hilarity of the company, calmed her agitation and made her promise not to lie again, even about the merest trifle.

His wit was now playful, now caustic. There was a photograph representing him under a broad and unbecoming red hat. He did not like the picture, and, when a lady asked for his autograph on a copy of it, he wrote: *Nolite timere, ego sum*—"Fear not; it is I." The author of a pious biography sent his book to the Pope for approval. The Pontiff read till he came to these words: "Our saint triumphed over all temptations, but there was one snare which he could not escape: he married," and then he threw the book from him. "What!" said he, "shall it be written that the Church has six sacraments and one snare?" Of a

Catholic diplomatist whose conduct and professions were at variance he said: "I do not like these accommodating consciences. If that man's master should order him to put me in jail, he would come on his knees to tell me I must go, and his wife would work me a pair of slippers." During the French occupation of Rome a certain French colonel was guilty of so gross an offence against the Pope's authority that the Holy Father demanded his recall. Before his departure he had the effrontery to present himself at the Vatican and ask for a number of small favors, ending with a request for the Pope's autograph. The Pontiff wrote on a card the words which our Lord addressed to Judas in the garden: *Amice, ad quid venisti?* — "Friend, wherefore hast thou come hither?"—and the colonel, who did not understand Latin, showed it to all his friends as a testimonial of the Pope's regard, until somebody unkindly supplied him with the translation.

It is the etiquette of the Vatican that carriages with only one horse shall not enter the inner court. This rule was enforced one day in 1867 against Baron von Arnim, and Bismarck, for purposes of his own, endeavored to make a diplomatic scandal of the transaction, instructing the ambassador to close the legation and quit Rome instantly unless he was allowed to drive with one horse to the very foot of the papal staircase. The Pope caused Cardinal Antonelli to write that "His Holiness, taking compassion on the embarrassments of the diplo-

matic body, would in future allow the representatives of the great Powers to approach his presence with one quadruped *of any sort"—avec un quadrupède quelconque.* I believe that the Prussian minister never availed himself of this permission in its full extent; he certainly did not boast of his diplomatic victory.

One of the few members of the Roman nobility who showed a disposition to coquette with the new régime attempted to speak to the Pope in a low voice and a confidential manner. "Sir," said Pius aloud, "I do not like men with two faces. I love those who show a loyal and Christian countenance, and who speak out boldly because they have nothing to hide." To another who was lamenting the corruption of society and the impossibility of correcting it he said significantly: "You are wrong; I know an excellent remedy for these evils."

"What is it, Holy Father?"

"Let every man begin by reforming himself."

A soldier stopped him and complained: "Holy Father, I have served twenty-five years, and they will not give me a discharge."

"Well, my friend, that does not seem fair. I have not served twenty-five years yet, but they wanted to discharge me long ago. I will see to your case."

The Abbé Chocarne begged the blessing and favor of the Pope for a society he had founded in aid of penitent prisoners. "Certainly," replied

Pius; "I am a prisoner myself—but I am not penitent."

The affection shown him in his dethronement by the people of Italy was always a particular consolation to him. Deputations in great numbers came from all parts of the peninsula to testify their regard, and the Romans never seemed to tire of doing him honor. On the anniversary of the capture of Rome it was customary for the Roman nobility to present themselves at the Vatican, partly by way of renewing their protest against the invasion, partly in order to cheer the Holy Father's spirits. He was told one day the particulars of a ball given by the king in the palace of the Quirinal. "We shall have to use tuns and tuns of holy water to purify that Quirinal when we get back," said he—"we or those who come after us."

On the 16th of June, 1871, he reached the twenty-fifth anniversary of his election to the papacy, thus falsifying, for the first time in history, the popular prediction that no pope should "see the years of Peter"—a prediction which even finds a place in the ritual of consecration. The day was celebrated by impressive services in the basilicas of St. Peter and St. John Lateran, attended by enormous multitudes of people. Thousands of pilgrims came from Italy and from foreign lands to offer their felicitations in person, and on one of the days devoted to the observance the Pope delivered twelve addresses in answer to as many different deputations from different countries. More

than a thousand messages of compliment were received by telegraph, the first that arrived being from Queen Victoria. Large sums of money were brought by the pilgrims; and, indeed, the generosity of the faithful towards their imprisoned bishop was always magnificent. By their contributions he was enabled to defray the cost of the administration of church affairs and the expenses of the palace and the basilica, to keep up the famous Vatican manufacture of mosaics, to grant from $125 to $200 a month to the destitute Italian bishops, according to their needs, to continue certain public works, and to provide many schools and asylums in place of those which had been destroyed or perverted to irreligious uses by the Government of Italy. His private and personal charities continued to be enormous, as they always had been. But none of his own family ever profited in the slightest degree by his elevation to the supreme dignity.

The dreadful oppression of the Church in Germany and Switzerland, the steady advance of the atheistic revolution in Italy, the persecution of Catholics in Poland and other parts of the Russian Empire with atrocities which the world as yet hardly realizes, were afflictions added to the last years of the sadly burdened Father of the Faithful. He faced them with his habitual courage, and he labored to correct the evils of the world with such an incessant watchfulness and untiring energy that we could hardly think of him as an old man who had

outlived his own generation. His bold and inspiriting words had the ring of perpetual youth. On the 12th of March, 1877, he delivered an allocution on the subject of a proposed "Law against the Abuses of the Clergy," then under consideration in the Italian Parliament, and it roused Europe like a blast of judgment. Almost the last public act of his life was a spirited appeal to the Russian Government in behalf of the suffering Poles. He defended the Jesuits in a brief, and he gave a signal proof of his affection for their venerable society by adding two distinguished Jesuits to the Sacred College—Cardinal Tarquini, who was created in 1873 and died the next year, and Cardinal Franzelin, who was created in 1876. Never had the College of Cardinals been so truly an emblem of the catholicity of the Church as it became under his enlightened government. All the nations of Christendom were represented in it. He gave a cardinal to Ireland. He promoted Dr. Manning to the vacant place of the lamented Cardinal Wiseman, and conferred a hat upon another English prelate, Monsignor Howard. He created the first American cardinal, Archbishop McCloskey, in 1875. He honored the misfortunes and constancy of the Catholics of Prussian Poland by rewarding Archbishop Ledochowski with the dignity of prince of the Church, and giving him hospitality at the Vatican when he was released from his cruel imprisonment.

He was never tired of preaching the power of

prayer and the duty of cheerful submission to the divine will. A French priest, in thanking him for certain favors, exclaimed: "Ah! Holy Father, how I shall pray for your speedy deliverance and the cessation of persecutions." "Pray, rather," replied the Pope, "that the will of God may be done. You and I do not know whether it is best that the storm should abate so quickly. Persecution is the health of the Church." It has been said that no pope ever did so much to promote the glory of God by adding to the glory of his saints. He placed hundreds of martyrs and others on the calendar. He enrolled St. Alphonsus de Liguori and St. Francis de Sales among the doctors of the Church; and it is hardly necessary to remind the reader with how much zeal the Pontiff who defined the dogma of the Immaculate Conception promoted true devotion to the Blessed Virgin. He had a special piety also towards St. Joseph, whom, by a decree of December 8, 1871, he declared patron of the universal Church. A French artist, having received a commission to paint for the Holy Father a picture symbolizing the Immaculate Conception, submitted a sketch for his Holiness' approval. "It is good," said the Pope; "but I do not see St. Joseph." The painter replied that he would represent him in a group surrounded by clouds of glory. "No," rejoined Pius, pointing to the side of Jesus Christ; "put him there. That is his place in heaven."

The remarkable revival of the devotion to the

Sacred Heart of Jesus during the last few years was fostered by the Holy Father with all earnestness. He decreed the beatification of Margaret Mary Alacoque, with whose revelations the modern phase of this devotion may be said to have originated; and in June, 1875, he consecrated to the Sacred Heart the Church throughout the world. He was careful, however, to discourage, and even sharply condemn, a variety of unauthorized and extravagant devotions, fantastic in character and now and then somewhat superstitious in tendency.

In the course of this narrative I have tried to show how the exercise of the Holy Father's supreme authority gradually suppressed factions within the pale of the faith, dispelled the phantom of "national" churches, abolished all differences of theological schools, whether at Paris or at Munich, settled ancient controversies, drew close the bonds of union between the episcopate and its visible head, and marked out with startling clearness the lines of division between the anti-Christian world and the Christian Church. But this was only half of his great work. Still more wonderful was the general revival of Catholic faith and piety under his fostering influence. No pope in modern times has been so dear to the hearts of the people, or has so strongly impressed his personality upon the Catholic world. Others commanded the intellectual obedience of the faithful; Pius spoke directly to their hearts. Others were loved, perhaps, by the few thousands who lived immediately around them;

Pius was an object of enthusiastic affection to millions all over the world.

The great movement of pilgrimages, which began soon after the Italian occupation of Rome, or perhaps may be traced to the still earlier popular demonstrations excited by the different anniversaries which have already been mentioned in these pages, became an important agency in extending the Pontiff's influence and hastening the Catholic revival of which he was the fervid apostle. In organized multitudes like armies, or in small troops of private persons, or in family parties, pilgrims travelled to Rome from the four quarters of the earth, only to kneel at the Pope's feet, to kiss his hand, to receive his blessing, and to listen to the burning words which flowed from his lips. Almost every day he received travellers, and he always had something appropriate to say to them. To a deputation from the United States in 1873 he said:

"I am grateful to America for these sincere and energetic protestations which represent, I know, the sentiments of all American Catholics, and I feel especially bound to pray for a nation so highly blessed by God in the fertility of its soil and its industrial prosperity. Be assured that I pray God to increase and fructify these gifts; yet I warn the world that such blessings ought not to engross the affections of those who possess them. North America is incomparably richer than any other country; but riches should not be its only treasure. In the Gospel which I read at Mass this morning Jesus Christ says: 'Where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also.' Now, America is a nation devoted to commerce and all kinds of traffic; that is well, for every man must

provide for the necessaries of life: honest traffic in what Providence has given us is permitted to all, and it is right that the father of a family should bring up his children in accordance with the exigencies of their proper state. There is not the least harm in thinking of all that. But the love of wealth must not be carried to excess; you must not attach yourselves too much to it, nor chain the heart to the treasures of the earth. This fatal worship of a purely material prosperity is condemned by Jesus Christ. Our Lord himself had a modest purse; he even had an administrator, who was Judas; but you know whither Judas was carried by his immoderate love of money. Have money, then, if you will; seek honestly to increase your store and improve the circumstances of your family; nothing is more just or more natural; but let it be only on condition that your hearts do not become fastened to the goods of this world, and that you do not make them the object of your worship. This is the only reflection I wish to suggest before quitting you; for the rest, I adjure you to pray to God. Let us all pray that he will ever protect us, and give us strength and courage in the midst of the dangers and tribulations of the Church. Here we are, so to speak, over a volcano, and, alas! the government seems eager to open the crater. But God will save us."

A large body of pilgrims from the United States and Canada visited Rome in 1874. A band of nearly 8,000 Spaniards made their way thither in 1876, and the Pope received them in St. Peter's, since there was no room in the Vatican that would hold such a multitude. The gates of the church were closed, however, to all except the pilgrims. In the following summer occurred the fiftieth anniversary of the Holy Father's consecration as a

bishop, and the fervor of the pilgrims reached its culmination. The day of the commemoration proper was the 3d of June, but from the end of April to the beginning of July a great tide of strangers, as if by a spontaneous and universal impulse, set steadily towards the Vatican. There were seven or eight separate deputations from France, numbering in the aggregate several thousands. There were representatives of Rome and many other Italian cities. There were eleven bishops, forty priests, and about one hundred laymen from the United States. There were two bands from Canada. There were two delegations from Calcutta. There were three or four from Germany; three or more from Ireland; others from Poland, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Croatia, Portugal, Scotland. Three or four days were given up to Italy alone. Spain sent 1,000. England despatched an imposing body of pilgrims and an address signed by 500,000 names. One of the German addresses was signed by 200,000 young men. Five hundred periodicals were represented by a deputation from the Catholic press. An immense number of valuable gifts were sent at the same time, and when they were displayed at the Vatican the exposition filled several spacious halls.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE END.

An American traveller, describing the appearance of the Holy Father in 1876, wrote as follows:

"At the reception of the Spaniards to-day it was generally remarked that the Pope looked wonderfully well and strong. His general health is beyond doubt good, although, as he recently said of himself, 'One cannot be an octogenarian with impunity.' When I first saw him, at the audience I have described above, I found in his face and figure as he entered the room marks of infirmity for which I was not prepared. He looks much older than any of his pictures, if I except a single recent photograph, which I believe is not known in America. His lower lip droops a little, his eye has lost much of its lustre, his head hangs over, and his step is uncertain. His voice, too, at first was tremulous and broken. But in a few minutes my impressions of his condition were greatly changed. In conversation his whole face lighted up, his speech was firm, his manner was vivacious, he looked no longer a feeble old man of 84, but a hale and well preserved gentleman of 70. When he raised his voice to address the whole assemblage the tones were strong and musical, the articulation beautifully clear. He made gestures freely with both arms, and I noticed that his hand was as steady as if he had nerves of iron. Alarming reports of his impending dissolution often reach the papal court—from America and elsewhere—but the Pope's friends laugh at them.

'When I look over certain of the Italian journals without finding the news of my last illness and death,' said Pius IX. lately, 'it always seems to me as if they had forgotten something.' So far as anybody can see, his chances of living several years longer are very fair."

But by the end of the year 1877 it became evident that the last hours of this heroic life were near at hand. On the 21st of November he received a band of pilgrims from Carcassone, in France, and addressed them at considerable length and with unusual emotion. After this exertion he was for nearly a month confined to his room by fever, and the wounds in his leg became enlarged. He recovered so far as to resume all the duties of his office, and to give audiences daily to the cardinals and prelates, and to others who had important business with him; but as a matter of prudence the general audiences were discontinued. It was impossible for him to say Mass, and an altar was consequently placed in the room adjoining his bedchamber, where a chaplain celebrated the Holy Sacrifice every morning, and the Pope, lying where he could see the service through the open door, received the Blessed Eucharist. A portable bed was contrived, in which he was carried from his chamber to his library. Thus, pillowed on his couch, his mind clear and active, his temper serene and cheerful, his venerable face radiant with love, he sank gently to his rest. On the 28th of December the cardinals met in consistory around his bed in the library, and he delivered his last allocution:

"VENERABLE BRETHREN: Your presence to-day in such numbers gives us the opportunity which we gladly seize to return you and each of you our sincere thanks for the kind offices shown us in this time of our illness. We thank God that we have found you most faithful helpers in bearing the burdens of the apostolic ministry, and your virtue and your constant affection have contributed to lessen the bitterness of our many sufferings. But much more we rejoice in your love and zeal. We cannot forget that we need daily more and more your co-operation, and that of all our brethren and of the faithful, to obtain the immediate aid of God for the many necessities which press upon us and upon the Church. Therefore we urgently exhort you, and especially those of you who exercise the episcopal ministry in your dioceses, as well as all the pastors who preside over the Lord's flock throughout the Catholic world, to implore the divine clemency, and cause prayers to be offered up to God that he may give us amidst the afflictions of our body strength of mind to wage vigorously the conflict which must be endured, to regard mercifully the labors and wrongs of the Church, to forgive us all our sins, and for the glory of his name to grant us the gift of good-will and the fruits of that peace which the angelic choirs announced to mankind at the Saviour's birth."

Victor Emanuel died on the 9th of January, 1878. All the tenderness of the Pope's heart was called out by this sudden event. As soon as the king's danger was known Pius sent Monsignor Marinelli, sacristan of the Apostolic Palaces, to offer the dying man the consolations of religion, and to bear a message of forgiveness and fatherly kindness. Refused entrance by the officials of the court, the messenger was despatched again on the

two following days, and was at length admitted on the third visit. In his last hours Victor Emanuel reconciled himself with the Church by a declaration, into whose sufficiency the Holy Father had no disposition to enquire too closely. "Let us show all possible pity," said the Pontiff. The censures were removed, the last sacraments were administered, and the churches were opened for the funeral services and requiems.

On the Feast of the Purification, February 2, the Pope was well enough to be carried to the throne-room, where he received the customary presentation of candles from the heads of chapters, colleges, and religious orders, and the parish priests of Rome, and delivered an impressive discourse without apparent fatigue. The next day he was bright and cheerful, and even able to walk a little. In the night of Wednesday, February 6, he suddenly became feverish and strangely feeble. At three o'clock on Thursday morning the physicians administered a restorative, which revived him for a little while, but at half-past four he was seized with a fit of shivering, accompanied by difficulty of breathing, and his condition was pronounced alarming. At half-past eight Monsignor Marinelli administered the Viaticum, and half an hour later he gave Extreme Unction. From that time the Holy Father grew rapidly worse; but amidst all his pain and weakness he was perfectly conscious, calm, and happy. Just before noon he took his crucifix from beneath his pillow and blessed those who

were kneeling around him—Cardinals Bilio, Manning, Howard, and Martinelli, and several of the domestic prelates and officers of the palace. Cardinal Bilio, the grand penitentiary, took his position by the bedside and never left it till the end. The prayers for the dying were now recited by the cardinals, and Pius, though with great difficulty, joined in them audibly, adding *In domum Domini ibimus*—"We will go into the house of the Lord." When Cardinal Bilio came to the words, *Proficiscere*—"Depart, Christian soul"—he paused. *Si, proficiscere*—"Yes, depart"—said the Pontiff. These were his last words. His breathing became more painful, but his mind was still clear, and he made signs of regret that he could not speak. About two o'clock Cardinal Bilio begged him to bless the Sacred College, and he lifted his right hand and blessed them. Almost immediately afterward he became unconscious. Nearly all the cardinals in Rome, and a great number of bishops and other ecclesiastics, were kneeling in the antechamber. At half-past five Cardinal Bilio began to recite the sorrowful mysteries of the rosary, but before he had finished the death-rattle was heard, and just at the hour of the Ave Maria the soul of Pius the Great was taken to the arms of God.

According to custom the body was embalmed, and lay in state during the following Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in St. Peter's, where an immense concourse of people passed before it. On the night

of Wednesday, the 14th, the final ceremonies of the funeral took place within the closed and barred basilica, and the coffin was deposited in the plain sarcophagus over a door in the chapel of the choir, where the remains of every pope in turn repose during the reign of his next successor. There for thirty-two years had rested the bones of Gregory XVI., and there a marble slab now bears the inscription:

PIUS IX., P.M.

His will left directions for his final interment. It was to be in the ancient patriarchal church of St. Lawrence-outside-the-Walls, one of the "seven churches of Rome" to which pilgrims in the primitive ages resorted from all parts of the West. "My body shall be buried," reads the will, "just under the little arch which is over against the graticola, or stone, on which are still to be seen the stains produced by the martyrdom of the illustrious Levite. The expense of the monument must not exceed four hundred scudi; on it shall be carved the tiara and keys; the only armorial device shall be a skull; and the epitaph is to be *Ossa et cineres Pii IX., Sum. Pont., vixit an. . . . in Pontificatu an. . . . Orate pro eo.*" "The bones and ashes of Pius IX., Supreme Pontiff, who lived . . . years, in the Pontificate . . . years. Pray for him."

THE END.